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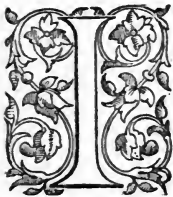
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THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY AND F. J. FURNIVALL.

T is a far cry back to 1864, when the Early English Text Society was founded; but in order to understand the revolution that has taken place since then in Early English studies, we must mentally transfer ourselves to that date, or rather to some seven years earlier.

In 1857, Dr. Trench, then Dean of Westminster, and afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, read two papers before the Philological Society, 'On some deficiencies in our English Dictionaries,' which were printed as a pamphlet in the same year; and from his well-laid scheme there ultimately grew the great Oxford Dictionary.

The Philological Society at once arranged for the publication of a Supplement to the Standard English Dictionary; but the response to the appeal for literary help was so encouraging, that Dr. Furnivall, the Hon. Secretary of the Society, at

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that time a little over thirty years of age, soon saw that a great effort was being made for an insufficient result, and grasped the idea that an entirely new Dictionary might be obtained by the machinery set in motion. He communicated his view to Dr. Trench, who answered him: 'It is a very fine idea, if you can carry it out; but I don't think you can.'¹ Furnivall was not, however, afraid of great and far-reaching ideas. The matter was fully discussed, and after much deliberation, at a meeting of the Philological Society on 7th January, 1858, 'it was resolved that instead of the Supplement to the Standard English Dictionary, then in course of preparation by the Society's Unregistered Words Committee, a New Dictionary of the English Language should be prepared.' The work was placed by the Society in the hands of two Committees—'the one Literary and Historical, consisting of the Dean of Westminster, F. J. Furnivall, and Herbert Coleridge, Secretary; and the other Etymological, consisting of Hensleigh Wedgwood and Professor Malden.' In a report, from which I am quoting, written and published in 1859, it was announced 'that the former of these Committees will edit the Dictionary and direct the general working of the scheme' ('Proposals for the Publication of a New English Dictionary by the Philological Society'); and so sanguine was Furnivall that he goes on to say in this pamphlet: 'Arrangements for the publication

¹ See 'Frederick James Furnivall, a volume of Personal Record,' 1911, p. xliii.

of this Work in 5s. parts have been made with Messrs. Trübner & Co.'

In 1909, at a meeting of the Authors' Club, Furnivall spoke from memory to this effect:

Trench wrote us a paper on the duty of making a supplement to the dictionaries of Johnson and Richardson. Herbert Coleridge, a grandson of the poet, came forward and said, 'I should like to take a part in this.' The question was, who should work with him. I refused absolutely, on which [Thomas] Watts, who was head of the Book Department in the British Museum, reminded me that I was secretary of the Society, and that if I was asked to do a thing it was my duty to do it¹; so we began.

Herbert Coleridge was the son of Henry Nelson and Sara Coleridge, and was, therefore, grandson and grandnephew of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. He became a member of the Philological Society in 1857, when he undertook with enthusiasm the labour of editorial work on the projected English Dictionary. In 1859 he printed his useful 'Glossarial Index to the Printed English Literature of the Thirteenth Century'; but then he had less than two years to live, and to the great loss of English scholarship and the grief of his friends he died at the early age of thirty-one, working on the Dictionary in his bed to the very last.

¹ 'Record,' p. xliii. This is a strong injunction for an honorary secretary, and few holders of the office would be inclined to acknowledge the obligation, particularly when, as in this case, it included the editing of a big dictionary. Furnivall joined the Philological Society in 1847, and in 1853 became joint secretary with Prof. Key. In 1862 he became sole secretary on Key's election as a vice-president.

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For some years after I joined the Philological Society and its Council, one of the main objects for discussion was the progress of the Dictionary. An immense amount of material was collected, and Furnivall's office in Lincoln's Inn, and his house in St. George's Square, groaned under the weight of sacks of extracts.

Publication was constantly recommended, and I remember that Dr. Golstücker was very urgent in this matter; but I believe that, compared with the vastness of the work, very little had been done in the important branch of etymology, and in consequence Furnivall's optimism was much dashed, and he saw that it was impossible for a small Society without national help to carry out the gigantic scheme; also that he himself could not give up all his other work to devote his whole time to editorship. Fortunately, in the end the Clarendon Press came forward and patriotically undertook the production of one of the greatest books ever planned, which is now nearing completion.

As soon as the scheme for the Dictionary was started, it was at once seen that before anything could be done satisfactorily in the way of illustrating the vocabulary, dated authorities must be found and all English writings must be overhauled. These quotations must be from printed books; but it was known that large quantities of the monuments of our language were unprinted and practically unknown.

For the purpose of making these available, the Philological Society commenced in 1858 the

occasional publication of some Old English MSS. Early English Poems, and Lives of the Saints, from manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were issued as a Supplement to the Transactions of that year.¹ The Play of the Sacrament was added to the volume for 1860-1, and then were published separately—'Liber Cure Cocorum,' edited by Richard Morris, 1862; 'The Pricke of Conscience, by Richard Rolle de Ham-pole,' by the same editor, 1863; and the 'Castell off Love, by Robert Grosseteste,' edited by Richard F. Weymouth, 1864. These three texts were bound together, with the general title, 'The Philological Society's Early English Volume, 1862-64.'

The printing of these books was too great a strain upon the resources of the Society, and the Council rebelled. Members complained that Philology was not confined to the English language.

When the decision to print no more Texts was come to, Furnivall instantly prepared to found a new society to carry out the printing now at a standstill. Delay did not enter into his scheme of things at all, and very soon he had a prospectus ready with a preliminary list of members.²

¹ Sir James Murray, first and chief editor of the Oxford Dictionary, writes in his chapter in the 'Record' (p. 132): 'These proved of great importance for the history of the language and for the Dictionary.'

² Dr. Furnivall was not then quite so rapid as he was on a later occasion. The story is related by Miss Caroline Spurgeon: 'Some lady said to him one afternoon, casually, "I wonder you don't found a Browning Society, for Browning's Works are every bit as obscure and undecipherable as any of your Early English

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In Richard Morris he had an ardent editor, ready and eager to work on the old manuscripts, but it was not until after the Society was started that the enthusiastic band of scholars who formed the mainstay of the work was gathered together. A prospectus and appeal for members was prepared with a preliminary list of twenty-two subscribers, one of these being Ruskin, who subscribed for ten sets of the publications.

The Committee of Management consisted of five persons—Danby P. Fry (an original member of the Philological Society), Furnivall, Morris, H. T. Parker (agent for Harvard College), and H. B. Wheatley as honorary Secretary. We were all members of the Philological Society and of its Council. The first list of members contains many distinguished names. Amongst these were Tennyson, Archbishop Trench, Bishop Thirlwall, Dr. Bosworth, Henry Bradshaw, William Chappell, J. D. Coleridge, Q.C. (afterwards Lord Coleridge), Prof. George Craik, H. Hucks Gibbs (afterwards Lord Aldenham), Dr. Goldstücker, David Laing, Dr. Luard, George Macdonald, Sir Frederick Madden, Max Müller, Lord Neaves, Dr. Raine, Prof. George Stephens of Copenhagen, Thomas Watts, Hensleigh Wedgwood, and many others whose interest in the work I well remember. The late Dr. Mayor joined in 1866, and William Morris in 1869.

Texts.” “You are quite right,” was the Doctor’s reply; and on the way home he bought a pound’s worth of stamps, sat up all night writing letters to suitable people on the subject, and by the evening of the following day the first members had joined.—‘F. J. Furnivall, a Volume of Personal Record,’ 1911, p. 184.

Thus was started into life the Early English Text Society; texts were sent to press, and at the end of the year four books were ready for the 1864 subscription. As Furnivall wrote in the Report dated 'January, 1865'—'Though the Society started late in the past year, these four texts were published within a fortnight of its close, and before that time the first text for the second year was in the printer's hands.'

The MS. of the first book in our series (Early English Alliterative Poems, edited by Richard Morris, from Cotton MS. Nero A.x) had been praised long previously by Dr. Guest for the great philological value of the poems, and by Sir Frederick Madden for their great literary merit. One of these is the 'Pearl,' which Dr. Gollancz has edited separately, and by so doing given it a recognized position in our literature.

Two of the books were small, but the four make a satisfactory output for a society with less than two hundred members. It is an uphill struggle to obtain that number; but afterwards, if the new society is well managed the members exert themselves and the increase becomes more rapid.

In 1865 we issued eight texts, and in the middle of 1866 we had nearly three hundred members. Then a mistake was made in issuing eleven texts, too many for the actual income. The books ran out of print, and the Society was hampered for some time by the necessity of reprinting these. The numbers, however, continued to increase, and in 1868, four years after its foundation, the Society had nearly five hundred members. The Extra

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Series had just been started, and the balance-sheet showed an income of over £1,000.

In the foundation of the Early English Text Society, Furnivall's main object was, in his own words, that Englishmen might be able to say of their early literature what the Germans can say with pride of theirs, 'Every work of it is printed, and every word of it is glossed.' In attempting to carry out this great scheme, he set before his eyes four cardinal points:

1. The publication of the best text of each work, with full information respecting the position of the book in the history of our language and literature, glossary and index in all cases being added.
2. The production of a body of authoritative early quotations for the use of the New English Dictionary.
3. The collection of materials for the history of our language and literature.
4. The collection of materials for the history of the social condition of the country at different periods. (This was an object specially dear to Furnivall's heart, as may be seen from his own contributions to the series.)

The outcome of these high aspirations has been the production of a library of about two hundred and fifty volumes, dealing with the whole range of mediæval knowledge and which moreover have been annotated with the aid of the latest scholarship. So great has been the output that it is difficult for the student to grasp the bearings of so considerable

a literature without some rough classification of the different branches of knowledge that have been dealt with.

The particulars may be grouped under six headings, a classification to a great extent arbitrary, but still such as will bring similar books together:

1. Books of recognized literary importance.
2. Arthurian and other Romances.
3. Old English Drama.
4. Religious Treatises.
5. Manners, including Old Surgery.
6. Dictionaries and Grammatical Tracts.

The Extra Series was formed in 1867 for the issue of re-edited works, and among its issues are Texts of special interest; but as the division is not of fundamental importance, I have referred to the publications of both series as one.

I.—BOOKS OF RECOGNIZED LITERARY IMPORTANCE.

At the head of these I place Prof. Skeat's great edition of 'Pierce Plowman.' In 1866, as a preliminary survey of the ground, a pamphlet containing 'Parallel Extracts from twenty-nine MSS.' was issued. This was reprinted and practically rewritten by the editor in 1885, when the number of MSS. examined was raised to forty-five. Text A appeared in 1867, Text B in 1869, and Text C in 1873. The first portion of Part 4, containing the notes to Texts A, B, C, was issued in 1887; and the second portion, containing Preface and an elaborate Index, in 1884, when was completed a

work which does great honour to English scholarship. The full apparatus presented to the reader gives rise to criticism, and a great discussion has arisen as to the authorship of this national poem, which has not yet closed. The views of the different distinguished combatants have been placed before the members, and they are of much interest.

Chaucer's Prose Works had been neglected, and it became the duty of the Society to reproduce them. The translation of Boethius, edited by R. Morris, appeared in 1868 (v.), and the work on the *Astrolabe*, edited by Prof. Skeat, in 1872 (xvi.). Thynne's interesting Notes on Speght's edition of Chaucer were issued in 1865 (9). An enlarged reprint, with much fresh information respecting Thynne collected by Dr. Furnivall, was issued in 1875. This is four times the size of the first issue.

Stirred by the discoveries of Henry Bradshaw on the correct order of the *Canterbury Tales*, and the reluctance of that great scholar to publish them, Furnivall in 1868 determined to start the Chaucer Society, and by his publication of the Six-text edition of the *Canterbury Tales* he brought the materials to the door of the future editor and made a standard edition possible. The labour of proof-reading in all parts of the country was enough to appal most men, but he worked on steadily at his self-imposed work for years, and in the midst of other exacting work he raised a noble monument to our great poet.

The Minor Poems followed in the same form, and a considerable amount of important literature

on Chaucer was also printed for the Society. Prof. Skeat has produced the long-wished-for standard edition of Chaucer, and has undertaken the closing up of a Society which has done a great work. While its main object was the settlement of Chaucer's text, it published also life records, essays and analogues and other work, unsuited to the parent Society. But it grew out of the Early English Text Society and must be reckoned to its credit.

Several of Caxton's Original Works have been reprinted and edited, such as the 'Book of Curtsye' (iii.), 'Alain Chartier's Curial' (liv.), 'Eneydos' (lvii.), 'Blanchardyn and Eglantine' (lviii.), 'Godfrey of Bologne, or Last Siege of Jerusalem' (lxiv.), and 'Dialogues, English and French' (lxxix.).

The works of Chaucer's contemporaries, Lydgate, Gower, and Hoccleve, are all represented in the list of publications. One of the great treasures among these publications is the volume of auto-types of the unique MS. of Beowulf, edited by Prof. Zupitza (77). The Facsimile of the 'Epinal Glossary,' a seventeenth century Saxon-Latin Dictionary, was produced and edited by Dr. Sweet in folio form as an extra volume in 1883.

Dr. Sweet edited Alfred's West-Saxon version of Gregory's 'Pastoral Care' (76, 82, 94, 114). The Old English version of Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History,' edited by Dr. Thomas Miller (95, 96, 110, 111), was at one time attributed to King Alfred, but this claim has now been abandoned. As an early translation of that most valuable work into the vulgar tongue, it must hold a very high

place in this first division of literary and historical works produced by the Society. Ælfric's 'Metrical Lives of Saints' was edited by Dr. Skeat (76, 82, 94, 110).

Other interesting books in this class are the Earliest English Translation of the first three books of the 'De Imitatione Christi' of Thomas à Kempis, edited by Dr. J. E. Ingram (lxiii.); Wyclif's English Works, hitherto unprinted, edited by Dr. F. D. Matthew (74); Bishop Fisher's English Works, edited by Prof. J. E. B. Mayor (xxvii.); and Queen Elizabeth's Englishings of Boethius, Plutarch, etc. (113).

Of Scottish literature we find Barbour's 'Bruce,' edited by Dr. Skeat (xi., xxi., xxix., lv.). Lyndesay's Works were commenced in 1865. The 'Complaynt of Scotland,' edited by Sir James Murray, appeared in 1872 and 1873 (xvii., xviii.). William Lauder on the 'Dewtie of Kingis,' edited by Dr. Fitzedward Hall, was published in 1864 as one of the first four issues. Dr. Furnivall published Lauder's Minor Poems in 1870 (41).

II.—ROMANCES.

One of the chief objects of the Society was the publication of the great cycle of Arthurian Romances, interest in which had been awakened by the poetic versions of Tennyson. Two texts out of the four produced in the first year were 'Arthur,' edited by Dr. Furnivall (2), a short and rapid sketch of the life and wars of 'the king of men' which occurs in an incomplete Latin

Chronicle of the Kings of Britain, belonging to the Marquis of Bath. The writer seems to have found dull Latin prose insufficient to express his feelings, so he broke out into English verse. 'Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight' was written by the author who produced the three beautiful alliterative poems which commenced the series.

These were followed by 'Lancelot of the Laik' (6), 'Morte Arthur' (8), 'The Prose Romance of Merlin,' 'Joseph of Arimathie, or the Holy Grail' (44), Lovelich's 'Holy Grail' (xx., xxiv., xxviii., xxx., xcv.), and the same author's 'Merlin' (cxiii.). The absolute identity of *u* and *n* in old manuscripts gives endless trouble to the transcriber, and in consequence this author's name has until lately been printed as 'Lonelich.'

Other Romances are 'William of Palerne, or William and the Werwolf' (i.), 'Havelock the Dane' (iv.), 'Kyng Horn' (14), 'Sir Bevis of Hamtoun' (xlvi., xlviii.), 'Guy of Warwick,' 'Thomas of Ercildoun,' 'Generydes' (55, 70), the Laud 'Troy Book,' 'The Gest-Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy,' and the series of Charlemagne Romances.

III.—OLD ENGLISH DRAMA.

The series of Religious Plays and Moralities is of great interest, more especially on account of the valuable introductions they contain, which will be very helpful to the author of the complete history of the English stage which some day may be produced.

The Chester Plays were re-edited from MSS. by Dr. Heimling in 1892 (Part I. lxii.). The Digby Plays, edited by Furnivall for the New Shakspeare Society, and reissued in 1896 (lxx.). The Towneley Plays, with a full Introduction by Mr. A.W. Pollard (lxxi.), were published in 1897. The Coventry Corpus Christi Plays, edited by Dr. H. Craig (lxxxvii.), were published in 1902. The Non-cycle Mystery Plays, edited by G. Waterhouse (civ.) came out in 1909. The Macro Morality Plays, edited by F. J. Furnivall and A. W. Pollard (xci.), appeared in 1904; and Skelton's Moral Play 'Magnificence', edited by Dr. R. L. Ramsay, was published in 1908.

IV.—RELIGIOUS TREATISES.

These form a large division of the Texts, and are varied both in merit and interest. In the 'Story of Genesis and Exodus' (7), edited by Morris from a unique MS. of the thirteenth century, the author has versified the most important facts contained in those two books, and has included portions of Numbers and Deuteronomy, so as to give a complete history of the Wanderings of the Israelites and the life of Moses. It is, however, in the Homilies and the Hymns we find information respecting the teaching of the Church and the manners of the times. 'Furnivall's collection of Hymns to the Virgin and Christ, the Parliament of Devils, and other Religious Poems' (24), is a delightful volume. These poems are full of a pure devotional feeling, and many of them exhibit their

authors as true poets. 'The Mirror of the Periods of Man's Life, or Bids of the Virtues and Vices for the Soul of Man,' is a striking and vigorous poem, and there is a tender philosophy breathing through 'Revertere' (in English tunge 'turn agen') which is truly charming.

There are a set of service books and guides to devotion which are of great value, such as the 'Earliest Prose Psalter'; 'The Lay Folks' Mass Book' (71); 'The Lay Folks' Catechism' (118); 'The Prymer, or Lay Folks' Prayer Book' (105, 109).

In Myrc's 'Duties of a Parish Priest' (about 1420) (31) we find instructions as to the questions to be asked of the penitent in confession. John Myrc was a Canon of Lilleshall, in Shropshire, who was acquainted with many ignorant priests. There is also a plentiful supply of information respecting the lives of Saints. Many other books of interest should be mentioned, such as the 'Old English Martyrology' (116), Robert of Brunne's 'Handlyng Synne' (1303), ed. Furnivall (119, 125), and his Meditacyons on the 'Soper of our Lorde' (60), and the great edition of the 'Cursor Mundi, Northumbrian of the 14th century in four Versions,' edited by Dr. Morris and issued in seven parts.

V.—ENGLISH MANNERS.

Although through Furnivall's consistent guiding the prefaces to most of the texts are made to show distinctly their bearings upon the manners and habits of English men and women, there is a very special division of the Society's work devoted to

this instructive subject, and to this department Furnivall himself was a chief contributor. To prove this it is only necessary to mention his 'Babees Book and Manners and Meals in Olden Time' (32), containing several treatises on old world etiquette. The value of this book is much enhanced by Furnivall's Introduction on the subject of Education in Early England. This was the first of a series of interesting books.

Other important books in this class are Toulmin Smith's 'English Gilds, their Statutes and Customs,' 1389 (40), two fifteenth century Cookery Books (91), and the remarkable series of old books on Surgery.

Of the lighter books in this class are the ever famous 'Gesta Romanorum' (xxxiii.), the 'Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry,' edited by Thomas Wright (33), revised, with Forewords by Furnivall, and fresh notes, Glossary, and Index of phrases, and proverbs, by Mr. J. Munro, 1906. The last of these story books to be mentioned is 'The A B C of Tales,' edited by Mrs. Banks (126, 127).

'The Mediæval Records of a London City Church' (St. Mary-at-Hill, 1420-1559), edited by Mr. Littlehales (125, 128), are of considerable interest, as are 'The English Register of Godstow Nunnery' (129, 130), 'The English Register of Oseney Abbey' (133), both edited by Dr. Andrew Clark, and 'The Coventry Leet Book,' edited by Miss M. Dormer Harris (134, 135, 138).

VI.—DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMATICAL TRACTS.

In 1865 I compiled a list of English Dictionaries for the Philological Society, out of which grew the proposal to publish a Dictionary Series, consisting of Huloet's 'Abcedarium Anglo-Latinum,' 1552; Withals, 'a little Dictionary for Children,' 1566 (collated with succeeding editions); Levins's 'Manipulus Vocabulorum,' 1570; Baret's 'Alvearie,' 1573, 1580; Horman's 'Vulgaria,' Pynson, 1519, and W. de Worde, 1530; also, from unprinted MSS., 'Catholicon Anglicum,' 1483, and 'Dictionary Anglo-Latinum,' B. M. Add. MSS., No. 15, 562.

The result was that I edited Levins's 'Manipulus' in 1867 (27), and Mr. Herrtage the 'Catholicon' in 1881 (75), and that in 1908 a new edition of the 'Promptorium Parvulorum' was produced by the Rev. A. L. Mayhew (cii.).

It was found that Huloet and Baret were too big to be undertaken with advantage by the Society. Some Grammatical Tracts in MS. which it was proposed to print were also postponed. Ellis's great work on Early English Pronunciation belongs to this class.

* * * * *

It would be useful to give a chronological list of the various texts, but this is not the place for such a list. Furnivall in the tenth Report, 1874, produced an inventory up to that date commencing with the tenth and ending with seventeenth century. He added also a list of Dialectical Texts arranged under Northern, Midland, and Southern dialects.

It is worthy of remark that the first Anglo-Saxon Text published was Alfred's version of Gregory in 1872, already mentioned. This was produced by Dr. Sweet, one of the Society's most distinguished editors, who for many years did yeoman service for it.

Great changes have taken place in nomenclature during the existence of the Society. In early days the term 'Semi-Saxon' was not uncommon. There is still some vagueness in the list of publications in the use of 'Old English.' Dr. Sweet used with advantage the more definite 'Oldest English.'

It is impossible to name, except incidentally, the distinguished editors who have given their gratuitous labours in the production of the library just analysed. Some have given a life's work of devotion, and are still happily with us, but many have passed away. Their names, however, will always be remembered with respect by those who have known them and have benefited by their labours.

Those who were already attached to the study were attracted to the Society at its foundation and ready to help, while new recruits were gathered within the fold, inspired by Furnivall's contagious enthusiasm. Scholars from abroad were appealed to and with success, as may be seen by the number of distinguished Germans on the list of editors.

In 1901 the Committee formed to promote the special Testimonial to Dr. Furnivall issued 'An English Miscellany, presented to Dr. Furnivall in honour of his 75th birthday. Oxford, Clarendon Press.' One of the chapters in this book was devoted to 'The Early English Text Society in

Germany,' by Dr. Richard Wülcker, who remarks on the value of its publications to Friedrich Koch, to Grein, to Jakob Schipper, to Ten Brink, and, of course, to Stratmann, in their important works, and adds: 'The activity of the Early English Text Society has instilled life into the study of Early English both in England and Germany, and if this branch of knowledge is to flourish and to take a worthy place by the side of its fellow branches, it will be in great part due to the men who for many years have directed the work of the Early English Text Society, especially to its founder, Dr. Frederick Furnivall.'

There is much more to be said of Dr. Furnivall, but we have here only to deal with his earnest endeavour to promote English studies, more particularly as they relate to our early language and literature.

His whole life was devoted to the advancement of philological study in the widest sense. He started the New English Dictionary, and made a great effort to print the whole of old English Literature still remaining in MS. He gave scholars the materials from which histories could be compiled. Yet he told Mr. Dyboski, 'I never cared a bit for philology; my chief aim has been throughout to illustrate the social condition of the English people in the past.'¹

Of course in a sense he was right, as he was not specially a philological scholar, but he earnestly desired to advance philological study, and both

¹ 'Record,' p. 4.

knew and adopted the best means for the attainment of this object. In the same sense he was not a bibliographer, but he thoroughly sympathised with the bibliographer and understood his aims. One of the first things he did when arranging for the quotations to the Dictionary was to make out a list of books to be read for the purpose. When the Early English Text Society was founded he made out a valuable list of manuscripts to be taken in hand as soon as might be, a list, which, in spite of continuous printing, still grows in size.

(1) The conception and management for near fifty years of a Society such as that here described; (2) the carrying on for many years of the collection of materials for the great English Dictionary; (3) the management of the Philological Society, as Secretary, for nearly sixty years; (4) the editorship of the Percy Folio MS. (with Prof. Hales), and (5) the foundation of the Ballad Society, the Chaucer Society, the Wyclif Society, the New Shakspere Society, and the Browning Society, must appear to ordinary mortals a most amazing record of accomplishment for one man, even during a long lifetime.

These exploits may be considered as forming the main stream of Furnivall's life, but they were not sufficient to prevent him from taking an interest in a multitude of other objects.

He was always engaged on something, but had time to chat with a friend, taking the greatest interest in that friend's work, and giving him advice, followed later in the day by a postcard containing useful references.

He was a great lover of Nature, and the record of his outdoor pursuits, particularly on the river, would fill volumes. He was always joyous, and throughout life was filled with the enthusiasm of youth.

His steadiness and persistence in the carrying out of all he had planned (largely work at the desk) seems antagonistic to his equally systematic out-of-door life. But the two sides of his character were welded together.

Dr. Furnivall's end was heroic, for when he knew that he had but a few short months to live, he set himself to arrange for the future, so that the continuance of the work in which he was interested should not suffer by his death. His friends and fellow-workers, who deplore his loss, are determined to do their utmost that his wishes shall be carried out.

His dearest wish was that the Early English Text Society should go on and prosper. He knew how much had still to be done, but he hoped that the public, when they realised this, would do their part to ensure that the building already raised to such a goodly height from the ground should not be stinted of any number of further storeys needed for its due completion.

HENRY B. WHEATLEY.

THE MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES.

ALTHOUGH this early compilation of the tragedies of English History prior to the reign of Elizabeth is not familiar to the average reader, it is gradually assuming more importance in the eyes of scholars and historians of English literature. When we realize that a large number of the Elizabethan historical dramas were based in part upon this metrical adaptation of the chronicles of Fabian and Halle, and that its various parts ran through eleven editions, between 1559 and 1610, we are forced to admit that until lately its importance has been underrated. The only modern edition of it appears to be that of Joseph Haslewood published in three volumes in 1815 from the text of 1587 collated with the other editions. In 1891 Mr. Fleay devoted an appendix in his 'Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama' (vol. i. 17-20) to indicating its contents and the use made of them by the Elizabethan dramatists. In 1898 a valuable little monograph on it was printed, unhappily only for private circulation, by Mr. W. F. Trench, and lately it has been made the subject of an admirable chapter in the 'Cambridge History of English Literature' by Professor J. W. Cunliffe. To Trench and Cunliffe

belongs the credit of assigning the original plan to the printer, Edward Whitchurch, instead of to Thomas Sackville, as had been previously done. Sackville was only nineteen years old when the first part of the 'Mirror' was planned some time before 1554, and probably did not become interested in it until Baldwin took it up.

Edward Whitchurch had apparently intended to reprint Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio's 'Fall of Princes,' which was first published by Pynson in 1494, but for some reason he gave up his business and sold out to John Wayland and R. Tottel, who each carried out for himself the plan of his predecessor. Tottel's edition appeared in 1554, and Wayland's, although undated, may be assigned to the same year or perhaps the next. A few copies of the latter contain at the end a title-page as follows: 'A memorial of suche Princes, as since the tyme of King Richarde the Seconde have been unfortunate in the Realme of England. Londini, In Aedibus Johannis Waylandi.' On the verso of this is Wayland's license, dated 20th October, 1553, in which Queen Mary is styled 'defendour of the faith and in earth of the Church of Englande and also of Ireland, the supreme head.' Mary was relieved of this title by statute 4th January, 1555, which would seem to establish the date of Wayland's edition of Lydgate as 1554, and show that the idea of the English continuation of Boccaccio's work was then sufficiently developed to suggest the printing of a title.

It is probable that Whitchurch wished to publish a continuation of Boccaccio's work consisting

of the stories of the various English princes and nobles who had perished because of an evil exercise of power, and turned to William Baldwin as a professional poet, because Whitchurch had published books for him in 1547 and 1549. Baldwin gives an account of the circumstances which led to the printing of the book in his introduction to the first edition, which is in part as follows:

‘When the printer had purposed with hym selfe to printe Lydgates books of the fall of Princes, and had made priuye thereto, many both honourable and worshipfull, he was counsailed by dyuers of them, to procure to haue the storye contynewed from where as Bochas lefte, unto this presente time, chiefly of suche as Fortune had dalyed with here in this ylande Whiche aduyse lyked him so well, that he required me to take paynes therein: but . . . I refused utterly to undertake it, excepte I might haue the helpe of suche, as in wyt were apte, in learning allowed, and in iudgemente and estymacion able to wield and furnysh so weighty an enterpryse, thinking euen so to shift my handes But shortly after dyuers learned men consented to take upon theym parte of the Trauayle To make therefore a statemente for the matter, they al agreed that I shoulde usurpe Bochas roome, and the wretched princes complayne unto me: and tooke upon themselues every man for his parte to be sundrye personages.’

The ‘dyuers learned men’ who were interested in this enterprise were Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, George Ferrers, Thomas Phaer, Sir Thomas Chaloner, the elder Cavyll, — Dolman, Francis Seager. These with William Baldwin agreed to take the various characters and tell their

stories. Sackville, who was the only real poet among them, and probably the moving spirit of the enterprise after it passed into Baldwin's hands, wrote the tragedy of Henry, Duke of Buckingham, and the celebrated 'Induction' which precedes it; this was not, however, ready for the first edition, but appears in the second, that of 1563. This 'Induction' rises to the height of genuine poetry, and is one of the finest examples of its kind in our language. Sackville was soon drawn away from literature to enter the field of statecraft, but this poem and his part of the 'Tragedy of Gorboduc' have placed him among the great names of Elizabethan literature. Sackville's idea was to begin with the first settlement of England, and to continue into the reign of Elizabeth, but that was not fulfilled until the sixth edition in 1610. This first edition of what was afterwards called the 'Last Part,' speaking chronologically, covers the period from the reign of Richard II., 1388, to the death of Edward IV., 1483.

In his 'Epistle' Baldwin gives the following account of the attempt made to print it by Wayland as a continuation to his edition of Lydgate's 'Fall of Princes,' 1554, when it was forbidden by Stephen Gardiner, then Lord Chancellor. From the end links of 'Shore's Wife' and 'Michael Joseph the Blacke Smith,' it is evident that they were both written prior to the death of Queen Mary in 1558, although not published until the second edition in 1563. Baldwin says: 'The worke was begun, and part of it printed iiii yeare agoe, but hyndered by the lord chancellour that

then was, nevertheles, through ye means of my lord Stafford, lately perused & licensed. When I first tooke it in hand, I had the helpe of many graunted & offered of sum, but of few performed, scarce of any. So that wher I entended to have continued it to Quene Maries time, I have ben faine to end it much sooner: yet so, that it may stande for a parterne, till the rest be ready, which with God's grace (if I may have anye helpe) shall be shortly.'

This first edition, published by Thomas Marshe, consists of nineteen legends (although twenty are called for in the table, the legend of Duke Humphrey does not appear) with connecting short prose notices giving an account of the matter, some remarks on the metre of the poem, and in some cases the author's name. The text is preceded by the title, an Epistle 'To the Nobilitye and all other in office,' and an 'Epistle to the Reader,' both by Baldwin. The title reads:

'A Myrroure For Magistrates. Wherein may be seen by example of other, with howe greuous plagues vices are punished: and howe frayle and unstable worldly prosperitie is founde, even of those, whom Fortune see-meth most highly to fauour. (Quotation, 1 line) Anno. 1559. Londini, in aedibus Thomas Marshe.'

The book was re-issued with some additions in 1563, 1571, 1574, and 1575, and in 1574 John Higgins, moved by a desire to extend the relation back to the first settlement of the island, issued a 'First Part of the Mirror for Magistrates,' in which he gives sixteen stories of tragical deaths from

Albanaet, 1085 B.C., to Nennius, 52 B.C. The editions of Baldwin's work published after this were entitled 'The Last Part.' Higgins prefaced his work with an introduction in which he acknowledges his indebtedness to Baldwin; this was reprinted in 1575. In 1578 Thomas Blennerhasset wrote a collection of tragical stories intended to fill in the gap between Higgins and Baldwin, and consisting of twelve tales ranging from 17 to 1066 A.D. In the same year was issued the sixth edition of Baldwin's work containing the additional legends of Good Duke Humphrey and Eleanor Cobham, his wife, by Ferrers. These were called for as one legend in the 'Table of Contents' of the first edition, but were not ready; and in this sixth edition Duke Humphrey is noted in the Table, and appears as the eleventh tale, while Eleanor Cobham is a separate story not mentioned in the Table, but inserted on seven unnumbered lines following Fol. 39 and directly preceding the legend of Humphrey. In 1587 Higgins issued a work comprising the third edition of his part, with twenty-three additional tales running from 612 B.C. to 219 A.D., and also the seventh edition of Baldwin's 'Last Part,' with four additional legends. This is prefaced by Higgins' 'Epistle to the Nobility,' and 'Preface to the Reader,' Newton's poetical 'Epistle to the Reader,' and the author's 'Induction' by Higgins. Finally, in 1610 Richard Niccols combined the three parts, omitting six legends, and added at the end Drayton's poem on Cromwell and 'A Winter Night's Vision,' and 'England's Eliza' by himself. In this work all

the prose connecting links were omitted, and the prefatory matter includes only Higgins' 'Epistle to the Nobilitie,' a brief 'Note' by the editor, and Newton's and Higgins' poetical 'Introductions.' Preceding the portion of the book edited by Baldwin is another 'Note' by the editor, Niccols, and Sackville's 'Induction'; and introducing the new matter is a rhyming 'Induction' also by Niccols. Below are found tables giving the contents, arrangement, and author of each edition of each part.

HENRIETTA C. BARTLETT.

Edward IV., by Skelton . . .	1483	19	19	20	20	20	62	71
Antony Woodville, Lord Rivers, by Baldwin? . . .	1483		20	21	21	22	63	72
Lord Hastings, by Dolman . . .	1483		21	22	22	23	64	73
Henry, Duke of Buckingham, with Induction, by Sackville } . . .	1483		22	23	23	24	{ 65 66	74 50
Collinbourne, by Baldwin . . .	1483		23	24	24	25	67	75
Richard, Duke of Gloster, by Seagers . . .	1485		24	25	25	26	68	omit- ted
Jane Shore, by Churchyard . . .	1483		25	27	27	28	73	78
Edmond, Duke of Somerset, by Ferrers . . .	1454		26	13	13	14	55	64
Michael Joseph, the Blacke Smith, by Cayll . . .	1496		27	26	26	27	69	76
Eleanor Cobham, by Ferrers . . .	1440					10*	51	60
Humphrey, Duke of Gloster, by Ferrers . . .	1440					11	52	61
Sir Nicholas Burdette, by Higgins	1441						70	77
James IV. of Scotland, by Dingley	1513						71	omit- ted
Flodden Field, by Dingley . . .	1513						72	omit- ted
Rise and Fall of Wolsey, by Churchyard . . .	1530						79	74

Probably almost all of the anonymous legends recorded above were written by William Baldwin.

TABLE II.

			Higgins.			Niccols.
			1574	1575	1587	1610
Albanact, by Higgins	.	B.C. 1085	1	1	1	1
Humber	„	1085	2	2	2	2
Lochrine	„	1064	3	3	3	3
Elstride	„	1064	4	4	4	4
Sabrina	„	1064	5	5	5	5
Madan	„	1009	6	6	6	6
Manlius	„	1009	7	7	7	7
Mempricius	„	989	8	8	8	8
Bladud	„	844	9	9	9	9
Cordila	„	800	10	10	10	10
Morgan	„	766	11	11	11	11
Ferrex	„	491	12	12	13	13
Porrex	„	491	13	13	14	14
Kimarus	„	321	14	14	19	19
Morindus	„	303	15	15	20	20
Nennius	„	52	16	16	24	24
Irenglas	„	51		17	25	25
Iago	„	612			12	12
Pinnar	„	441			15	15
Stater	„	441			16	16
Rudacke						
of Wales	„	441			17	17
Brennus	„	441			18	18
Emerianus	„	235			21	21
Cherinnus	„	137			22	22
Varianus	„	136			23	23
Julius Cæsar	„	42			26	26
		A.D.				
Nero	„	39			27	27
Caligula	„	42			28	28
Guiderius	„	44			29	29
Lelius Homo	„	46			30	30
Tiberius	„	56			31	31
Domitius	„	70			32	32
Galba	„	71			33	33

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Otho, by Higgins	.	71	34	34
Vitellus	„	71	35	35
Londricus	„	80	36	36
Severus	„	213	37	37
Fulgentius	„	213	38	38
Geta	„	214	39	39
Caracalla	„	219	40	40

TABLE III.

		A.D.	Blenner- hasset, 1578	Niccols, 1610 omit- ted
Guiderius	.	17	1	
Carassus	.	219	2	41
Helena	.	289	3	42
Vortiger	.	446	4	43
Uter Pendragon	.	500	5	44
Cadwallader	.	683	6	45
Sigebert	.	755	7	46
Ebba	.	870	8	47
Alured	.	872	9	omit- ted
Egelrede	.	1016	10	48
Edric	.	1018	11	48*
Harold	.	1066	12	49
Lord Cromwell, by Drayton		1540		80

These, save the last, were all written by Blennerhasset.

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY LAMENT ON 'TOO MANY BOOKS.'

THE multitude of books is an old topic of lamentation from the days of Solomon to those of Lord Rosebery. Some of the men of the seventeenth century were dismayed by the prodigality with which the then new art of printing had increased the size of libraries. One of these pessimistic scholars was Martin Despois, from whose MS. remains a selection of 'Poésies' in French, Latin and Greek was edited by Reinhold Dezeimeris and printed in a limited edition at Bordeaux in 1875. One of these poems deals with what appeared to Despois to be the melancholy frequency of books somewhere about the year 1602. It was occasioned by the publication of the 'Elenchus' of Clessius, the scope of which is explained in the shop-window style of title-page then in vogue:

Vnius Seculi; eiusque Virorum Literatorum Monumentis tum florentissimi; tum fertilissimi: ab Anno Dom. 1500. ad 1602. Nundinarum Autumnalium inclusivæ, elenchus consummatissimus librorum; Hebraei, Greci, Latini, Germani, aliorumque Europæ Jdiomatum; typorum æternitati consecratorum. Quo quicquid

in rebus diuinis, & humanis à magni nominis Theologis, Jureconsultis, Medicis, Philosophis, Historicis, &c. literis demandatum est, commodissima Methodo deprehendere licet. Desumptus partim ex singularum Nundinarum Catalogis, partim ex instructissimis vbiq; locorum Bibliothecis: atque in Tomos duos partitus; quorum vtilitas & dispositionis ratio in Praefatione habetur. Auctore Joanne Clessio Winneccensi, Hannoio, Philosopho ac Medico. Cum gratia & priuilegio Caes. Maiest. speciali ad decennium.

Francofurti, Ex Officina Typographica Ioannis Saurii, impensis Petri Kopffi; Anno M.DC.II.

The book is in two volumes, the second being devoted entirely to German books. There is no Preface, but a lengthy dedication to Johann Reichard Brombsern, whose library is highly praised by the bookseller Kopff. The book, according to Clement (t. vii. p. 186), is founded on one printed in 1592 at Frankfurt by Nicolas Bassé. Of Cless there appear to be no biographical particulars. The poem is as follows:

Forsitan hic aliquis numerosa volumina cernens
 Quis depulsa fuit sordida barbaries,
 Admirans seculi portentososque labores,
 Cultaque tam variis dotibus ingenia,
 Temporibus priscis aequabit tempora nostra,
 Aetatis gaudens fertilate suae.
 At mihi non risus molles, non gaudia laeta,
 Sed potius lacrymas elicit iste liber;
 Ac veluti aspiciens montis de culmine Xerxes
 Instructa innumeris agmina militibus
 Flevit, mente sua volvens tot millibus ante
 Centenos annos esse necesse mori,

Sic ego, dinumerans homines qui robore multo
Implerunt doctis Musica castra libris,
Qui voluere suo mundum summittere Phoebo,
Ut quondam Xerxi Medica turba suo,
Quis ita siccata est potantibus Hippocrene
Alta ut siccavit flumina Persa bibens,
Hos, inquam, numerans curisque laboreque fractos,
Dum contra inscitiam bella animosa gerunt.
Palladium pugnam pugnantibus evenit illud
Quod Mavorte satis adsolet accidere :
Quaerentes longam per dura pericula famam
Mors rapit, et tumulo gesta virumque tegit.
Ecce fatigarunt multi mentemque manumque,
Heu! sibi superantes posse parere decus;
Sed labor in cassum fuit his: periire libelli,
Indice de solo pars bona nota mihi.
Scilicet et castris in nostris caeca viget Sors :
Nutat vita, habitu gloria difficilis.

A rough rendering may be permitted :

Some who may look on these recording leaves,
And see the long array of goodly books,
All soldiers in a grand and steadfast war
Against the enslav'ment of the human mind—
Barbaric darkness of a squalid past—
Will burn with admiration for this host,
And in the glories of to-day will see
The golden age returning to the earth.
To me this book brings tears and not delight,
Rather am I like him who from a hill
Beheld his soldiers countless on the plain,
And wept that when a century had passed,
All these—nor one escape—would sleep in death ;
So I when counting o'er these gallant men,
These soldiers of Apollo, who would bring
The world beneath the Muses' gentle sway ;

Men whose deep draughts have emptied Hippocrene,
 Even as the Persian drank whole rivers dry—
 As I look over this great host ; these men
 Worn out by toil the while they warfare waged
 The ignorant folly of the world to slay,
 My heart is saddened by their hapless lot.¹
 Minerva's soldiers ofttime have the fate
 That also happens to the sons of Mars.
 Death strikes them while by daring deeds
 They seek to snatch the laurel leaf of Fame.
 Death covers with the tomb both deeds and men.
 So is it, many of Minerva's band
 Have strained both mind and hand and hoped alas !
 To gain a mead of glory for themselves.
 Their labours have been vain, they are forgot.
 Their books have perished ; nought remains
 Except their titles in a catalogue.
 So is it in our camp—Minerva's camp—
 Blind Chance prevails, life totters from its throne,
 And glory, loved by all, is hard to grasp.

This old French scholar anticipates the very spirit of Lord Rosebery's paradox² at the opening of the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, 25th October,

¹ The allusions are to the passages in Herodotus who describes the army of Xerxes as drinking up the Scamander, and Xerxes himself as viewing his troops from a throne of white marble, and after declaring himself happy shedding tears at the certainty of death for all those whom he saw. ('Herodotus' VII. 43-46.)

² This volume, which records the inspirations of the leisure hours of Despois, is no doubt one of those that Lord Rosebery would hold to be superfluous. Yet should he ever adventure upon writing a history of his family, there is one epigram that might interest him from that unexpected point of view. Despois, as a member of the Roman Communion, had a strong dislike to Dr. Gilbert Primrose (the cousin of that Archibald Primrose from whom the Earls of Rosebery descend), who was the Minister of the Protestant Church at Bordeaux, which was the native city of

1911. Those who have had to use libraries extensively, especially for purposes of literary or historical research, know that the real trouble of British libraries is not the multitude but the fewness of their books. The city libraries are a source of just pride to the communities by whom they are owned and used, but often the investigator finds their resources insufficient for his purposes; and there are times when even the British Museum, the Bodleian and the Cambridge University Libraries are sought in vain for the book that is wanted. There is not a book in the Mitchell Library that may not be turned to good account, either by some eager home student or, by some stranger from afar who seeks the hospitality of Glasgow's new and noble palace of learning.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

Despois. The controversies of that time were more than plain-spoken, they were too often the occasion of much malignant mud-throwing. In this vein is Despois's epigram:

In Gilbertum Primarosam, insolentissimum apostatam.

Sancticolas et saxicolas nos Primrosa dicit,

Quin et torticolas, denique Papicolas.

Primrosa cautus homo est; quod telum torquet in hostes

Nemo retorquebit, Primrosa acutus homo est;

In cultu peccamus, at hic non peccat in illo:

Non etenim novit quem colat ipse Deum.

This is perhaps best left untranslated. In the unprinted MSS. of Despois, there are many other references that may be useful to the future biographer of Gilbert Primrose.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LONDON.

LONDON, the greatest and most important city of the world, the capital of England and of the British Empire, presents materials for almost every branch of study. No modern city can excel it in its vast, manifold, and prolonged accumulation of human experiences. There is a veritable treasury of romance in the origin and development of this wonderful city. With records as early as Roman times (61 A.D., see Tacitus 'Annal.' lib. xiv. c. 33), and distinct evidences of a yet earlier existence, it affords rich ground for the historian, and especially for the historian of British public institutions. As a city it is distinctive in that it has enjoyed, with few exceptions, an absolute political freedom. Its industrial and commercial enterprise has never been fettered by the taxation of feudal lords. The city ruled over its own dependent districts, and knew no overlord except the king. Thus the study of the history of London is essentially the study of the natural unfettered development of England as a nation, and is of nearly equal interest to the provincial and to the Londoner.

The material for this study, though varied and extensive, is somewhat scattered. It is to be found in original records and in contemporary books and periodicals, whilst buildings, names, streets, etc., also afford valuable assistance. Research students have used these sources as far as possible, though the time necessary to investigate unindexed sources renders exhaustive work practically impossible. The result of this research work has been embodied in books and periodicals, till a very extensive literature has developed. An endeavour is now being made to compile a comprehensive bibliographical index to this literature.

Wm. Oldys (1696-1761) compiled a manuscript 'Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets relating to the City of London, its Laws, Customs, Magistrates; its Diversions, Public Buildings; its Misfortunes, viz., Plagues, Fires, &c., and of everything that has happened remarkable in London from 1521 to 1758, with some occasional remarks.' This folio manuscript was bought by Mr. Davies, who sold it to Mr. Steevens, whence it passed to Sir John Hawkins, whose library was destroyed by fire. It is partially preserved in Gough's 'British Topography,' Mr. Steevens having lent it to Gough to assist him in compiling that work.

Wm. Upcott (1779-1845), who published in 1818 his 'Bibliographical Account of the Principal Works relating to English Topography,' in three volumes, made large manuscript collections towards a supplementary volume on London. The idea of a London Bibliography was discussed in the 'London Argus' by the late Mr. Harland-

Oxley and others; but this does not appear to have matured into a practical scheme.

Dr. Charles Gross, of Harvard University, published in 1900 his 'Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485,' which is arranged in such a manner that it is useful to the local as well as to the national historian. His 'Bibliography of British Municipal History,' published in the series of 'Harvard Historical Studies,' is also a valuable guide, and the 'Projected Bibliography of National History' (see 'Athenæum,' 16th September, 1911, p. 325), which is to supplement the work of Dr. Gross, will doubtless prove very useful. The only other guides to the literature of London are such works as Watt's 'Bibliotheca Britannica,' Courtney's 'Register of National Bibliography,' Anderson's 'British Topography,' the 'Catalogue of Books and Tracts relating to London and the Suburbs,' issued by Sotheby in 1872, other sale lists, and the various library catalogues. Of the last mentioned, the 'British Museum Catalogue' and Mr. Fortescue's 'Subject Index' come first, whilst the catalogues of the Guildhall Library, the Library of the London Institution, the London Library with the Subject Index, the catalogue of Gough's Collection at the Bodleian, and other London library catalogues, which need not be enumerated, are worthy of notice. Crace's Catalogue of Maps, etc., is also indispensable.

Quite recently the question of a London bibliography has again attracted attention. In 1899, Mr. C. P. Hale wrote to 'Notes and Queries'

calling attention to the necessity for such a compilation; and in May, 1910, Mr. Fred. A. Edwards renewed the appeal in the same periodical.

Before the latter appeal appeared, the present scheme had been inaugurated. It originated among a small group of students formerly members of the seminar on Historical Sources conducted at the London School of Economics by Mr. Hubert Hall, F.S.A., the secretary to the Royal Commission on Public Records appointed in October, 1910. A meeting was called (29th April, 1910), to which some of the staff of the Victoria Counties History, and others likely to be interested in the scheme, were invited. At this meeting it was decided to form a group, each member of the group undertaking to work on co-operative lines. In this class of work, probably more than in any other, accuracy and thoroughness are more likely if it be undertaken as a labour of love than if it be done at the bidding of a taskmaster, and though the best bibliographical work has in the past been the result of individual effort, co-operation was considered desirable to prevent overlapping. Mr. Kenneth H. Vickers, who has long cherished the idea of a similar scheme, was appointed President of the Group, and Miss Helene Hadley undertook the secretarial duties.

Subsequent meetings were held for the adoption of rules for entries, and a rough scheme of classification was devised. For these we are largely indebted to the President. As the various administrative divisions and boundaries of London are liable to alteration from time to time, it was

decided to include the area covered by the London Postal District with Epping Forest, Richmond and Kew. The original idea was to work up the manuscript collections in the British Museum and the Record Office for the purpose of providing adequate local histories, in a manner similar to that adopted by the late Dr. W. A. Copinger for the county of Suffolk, and described to the Congress of Archæological Societies in Union with the Society of Antiquaries in July, 1907. After considerable discussion it was decided to deal with the printed matter first. This is no small task, as it is the intention, not only to include books, but also articles, maps, etc., in periodicals and in the transactions of societies which have the slightest bearing on London history and topography. It has been decided to aim at a very comprehensive bibliography, and whilst the workers to a large extent exercise their own judgment as to what should be given, it is considered far better to give what may be unnecessary than to omit anything that might be of value. With this object in view, periodical publications, with the exception of the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' are carefully gone through from cover to cover, practically no reliance being placed on existing indexes.

The bibliography is being compiled on cards, which for the time being will be stored in the strong room at the London County Hall, by permission of the Clerk of the London County Council, Sir Laurence Gomme. The cards will be arranged under subjects, the primary division into six main classes, being distinguished by colour. The main

classes, with the colour of the card used in each case, are—I. Ecclesiastical, blue; II. Historical and Administrative, green; III. Social, Economic, and Industrial, yellow; IV. Geographical, Geological, etc., pink; V. Sources, salmon; VI. Topographical, white. The scheme of classification in its present state of development is given below:

I. ECCLESIASTICAL (Blue card).

Church History.	Shrines.	Sects and noncon-
Church Goods.	Pilgrimages.	formity.
Church Lands.	Clergy.	Missions.
Religious Houses.	Visitations.	Sermons.
Ecclesiastical Taxa-	Diocese.	Non-Christian religion.
tion.	Heresies.	Biography.

II. HISTORICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE (Green card).

Constitutional.	Musters.	Hygiene.
Courts.	Insurrections.	Cemeteries.
Riots.	Sanitation.	Lighting.
Water Supply.	Political History.	River and Bridge.
(Rating and Taxa-	Military.	Ports and Docks.
tion.)	Police.	Wards.
Administrative.	Public Health.	Biography.

III. SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND INDUSTRIAL (Yellow card).

Customs.	Theatres.	Manufacturers.
Freedom.	Education.	Trading Companies.
Guilds.	Libraries.	Furniture.
Livery Companies.	Schools.	Fairs.
Freemen and }	University.	Pageants and Shows.
Apprentices. }	Clubs.	Hospitals. Charities.
Plagues.	Hotels.	Museums. Banks.
Great Fire.	Finance.	Art Schools and Gal-
Amusements.	Insurance.	leries.
Exhibitions.	Industries.	Biography. Dialects.

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IV. GEOGRAPHICAL, GEOLOGICAL, ETC. (Pink card).

Biology.	Botany and Flora.	Meteorology and
Prehistoric	Natural History and	Climatology.
Archaeology.	Zoology.	Biography.
Anthropology.	Geology, Mineralogy, & Palaeontology.	

V. SOURCES (Salmon card).

Charters.	Traacts.	Fines.
Descriptions.	Chronicles.	Wills.
Population Returns.	Directories.	Diaries.
Bibliographies.	Gazeteers.	Letter-books.
Foreign Impressions.	Statistics.	Biography.

VI. TOPOGRAPHICAL (White card).

Parks and Gardens.	Districts.	Buildings.
Guide books.	Dictionaries.	Streets.
Inns of Court.	The Tower.	Place names.
Squares.	Parishes.	Biography.

It may be interesting to compare this draft with the decimal scheme of classification for a London Bibliography devised by Mr. Charles Welch and printed as part of the interesting paper on 'London Municipal Literature' which he read before the Bibliographical Society in June, 1894. (Transactions, ii. 49-80.) It should be noted, however, that Mr. Welch, who was at that time Librarian of the Guildhall Library, was mainly concerned with the City of London.

GENERAL: Guides, Dictionaries, Essays, Periodicals, Societies, Tours and Travels, Directories, —, Bibliography and Libraries (1-9).

THEOLOGY AND RELIGION: Controversies, Government, Visitations and pastoral letters, Church history, Sects, Institutions, Missions, Sermons, Non-Christian Religions (10-19).

SOCIAL LIFE: Ceremonials, Pageants and entertainments, Clubs and taverns, Spies, Fairs, Street Life, Amusements, Theatres, etc., Miscellaneous, Education (20-29).

CONSTITUTION: Charters and Customs, Courts—administrative, Courts—judicial, Elections, Offices, Mayoralty, Livery Companies, Freemen and Apprentices, Public Bodies (30-39).

ADMINISTRATION: Poor, Police, Prisons, Light and Water, Markets and food, Sanitary, Roads and conveyance, Associations, Other (40-49).

COMMERCE: Finance, Bank of England and banking, Old trading companies, Insurance, Docks and Shipping, Coal trade, Taxes and duties, Various industries, Companies and Associations (50-59).

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART: Poetry and Drama, Prose, Statistics, Geology, Botany, Natural History, Climate and health, Art, Societies and Institutions (60-69).

HISTORY: Political history, Military history, Trials, Plots and insurrections, Plagues, Great Fire, Notable events, Biography, Archaeology (70-79).

TOPOGRAPHY AND DESCRIPTION: Wards, Parish and Church histories, Ecclesiastical Architecture, Public buildings, Commercial and Domestic Architecture, Street improvements, Thames and tributaries, Bridges, maps and views (80-89).

SUBURBS—EXTRA-MURAL LONDON: Liberties, Tower, Inns of Court, Palaces and Government Offices, Parks and gardens, Westminster, Westminster Abbey, Southwark, Outer parishes and districts (90-99).

Mr. Welch's scheme suffers to some extent from the effect of adjusting the various subject divisions to fit a decimal notation. That the decimal notation is eminently fitted for a classification scheme which is to be used for the arrangement of books,

is proved by the wide vogue of the Dewey system. In bibliographical work, however, a record is made of what has been written on particular subjects, and the object is to make the subject divisions and sub-divisions as clear, well-defined, and simple as possible. The clarity and simplicity of a scheme are often adversely affected when any other cause than utility is allowed to influence the arrangement.

Our own classification scheme is to some extent tentative and subject to revision and expansion. It is merely a rough draft devised with an entirely utilitarian point of view, in order that the work might be put in hand as soon as possible. The rules as given below are also subject to revision.

RULES AND INSTRUCTIONS.

- I. Give author's surname, followed by all initials. Compound names should in general be entered under the second, as 'FISHER, Geo. Hayes'; but when hyphenated reverse this treatment, as 'PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE, Rev. O.'
- II. Give full title, omitting sub-title, the gist of which should appear in the copyist's personal note.
- III. Give date and place of publication: in general the latest edition should be selected, but the number of earlier ones should be added.
- IV. Give number of volumes, or in case of magazine articles, the number of pages.
- V. Note Illustrations or Maps, and indicate the addition of Bibliographies by B.
- VI. Designate works of 100 pages and under by P (pamphlet).
- VII. Underscore the names of magazines or scientific journals.

- VIII. Leave a wide top margin for final letters and numbering.
- IX. Insert in the top left-hand corner an indication of the period covered by the text, *e.g.*, General—1500; 1500-1600; 1600-1700; 1700-1800; 1800-1900; 1900-2000.
- X. Add a personal note briefly descriptive of the volume or pamphlet, and based on a brief examination of the work.
- XI. Articles collected in book form are to be treated like magazine articles, *e.g.*, WHEATLEY, H. B., London (in Pepys' Time), in 'Samuel Pepys and the World he lived in.' 1889, London, pp. 100-115.
- XII. Make free use of cross references and duplicate entries:—*e.g.*, Stow's Survey of London is a Source, class V., but the chapters should be given separately in the appropriate class as VI., Stow, John. Bishops-gate Ward, see Survey of London, Book II. ch. VI., pp. 90-109. Again, St. Alphage's Charities will appear in III., and again in VI., in the latter case under Greenwich.

The cards, which are five inches by three inches, are divided one inch from the top by double lines. The only entry above these lines, made by the indexer, is the date, which in accordance with rule IX. is given in the top left-hand corner. The remaining space above the lines is left for subject headings, letters and numbers, in the final classification scheme. In accordance with rule X., each entry will be annotated in such a way that it will convey the substance, the mode of treatment and the scope of the book or article indexed. In this way the bibliography will provide much valuable data itself, in addition to being a guide to existing information. A few samples may be of interest,

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and the first of them is given in 'card form' to show the arrangement.

BLUE CARD.

1547—1900.

Freshfield, E., jun., Notes on Church Plate in the Diocese of London in 'The Home Counties Magazine,' Vol. II., pp. 113-119, 240-245, 308-316, Vol. III., pp. 47-53, 161-165, 185-190, 260-268, Vol. IV., pp. 75-78, 138-142, 316-319, Vol. V., pp. 59-64, 204-207, 279-285, Vol. VI., pp. 60-65, 210-214. Illustrations.

Note: Notes on the changes of Church Plate caused by the Reformation with quotations from Churchwarden's Accounts, Classification and Description of the Plate of London Churches, list of donors, inscriptions on plate, account of Beadle's staves and inventories of plate.

BLUE CARD.

185—1724.

Simpson, W. Sparrow, Chapters in the History of Old St. Pauls. 1881, London. Illustrated.

Note: Gives an introduction on the Early History of Religion in London, and traces the history of St. Pauls down to the beginning of the Eighteenth Century.

GREEN CARD.

450—1066.

Loftie, W. J., London as the Capital of Essex.
in 'Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society.'
New Series. Vol. I. 1878, Colchester, pp. 220-231.

Note: The article gives an account of the sources of information establishing London as the capital of the East Saxon Kingdom. Specific mention is made of Mellitus, Wini, Erkenwald, Waldhere, Ingwald, and the East Saxon Kings.

GREEN CARD.

1800—1900.

The Government of London.
In 'The Quarterly Review.' Vol. 189. 1899,
London, pp. 492-518.

Note: A criticism of the London Local Government Bill of 1899 and of the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour's speech in introducing it, with remarks on the Report of the Royal Commission on the Amalgamation of the City and County of London, 1894.

YELLOW CARD.

1600—1800.

Hart, W. H., Further Remarks on Some of the Ancient Inns of Southwark.
In 'Surrey Archæological Collections.' Old Series.
III. 1865, London, pp. 193-207.

Note: Several original documents are printed, *e.g.*, a petition against the opening of a new road out of Southwark to two new Inns, in 1619; also several letters from prisoners in the White Lion, the predecessor of the Marshalsea prison.

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YELLOW CARD.

1700—1900.

Rae, W. Fraser, Political Clubs and Party Organization.
In 'Nineteenth Century.' Vol. III., 1878, London,
pp. 908-932.

Note: Mentions the establishment of political clubs from the time of Queen Anne. The October, March, Hanoverian, the Ministerial formed by Lord Bute, which numbered E. Gibbon among its members, met at the Cocoa Tree Tavern, whilst the opposition met at Wildman's Tavern in Albemarle St. In the 19th century the London, Reform, Carlton, etc., are mentioned and the Westminster founded in 1834 and dissolved in 1836 is fully and authentically described.

PINK CARD.

1800—1900.

Pickard-Cambridge, Rev. O., A Contribution towards the Knowledge of the Arachnida of Epping Forest.
In 'Transactions of the Essex Field Club,' Vol. IV.
1886, Buckhurst Hill, Essex, pp. 41-49.

Note: Gives a classified list of the spiders found in Epping Forest in 1883 with some valuable hints on the study of Arachnida.

PINK CARD.

1800—1900.

Whitaker, William, Guide to the Geology of London.
1889. London. P. Illustrated.

Note: One of the Memoirs of the Geological Survey. It is condensed and useful for a rapid survey of the geological features of London and the Neighbourhood.

SALMON CARD.

1331—1890.

Welch, Charles, Bibliography of the Livery Companies of London.

In 'The Library,' Old Series, Vol. II., 1890, London, pp. 301-307.

Note: A selected list of the literature of the subject under the following headings:—General History of the Subject, The Twelve Great Companies, The Minor Companies.

SALMON CARD.

1600—1700.

The case of the Charter of London stated.

1683, London. P.

Note: Discusses i. What a corporation is:
 ii. Whether a corporation can be forfeited:
 iii. Whether the City of London ought to forfeit theirs:

WHITE CARD.

1500—1600.

The True Report of the burnyng of the Steple and the Church of Poules in London. 12mo. [(Reprint) 1885], 1561, London. P.

Note: A pamphlet printed by Wylliam Seres 'at the sygne of the Hedghogge' in 1561. Mentions the striking by lightning of St. Martin's Church, Ludgate and suggests that the damage to St. Paul's was a direct punishment from God for the waywardness of the people.

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WHITE CARD.

1800—1900.

Bowring, Edgar, South Kensington.

In 'Nineteenth Century' Vol. I pp 563-582, Vol II. pp 62-81. 1877. London.

Note: Deals with the purchase of the Kensington Gore Estate by the Commissioners for the 1851 Exhibition and gives notes on the founding of Albert Hall and of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The original idea of the purchasers was to offer the Estate to the Government as a site for the new National Gallery. Part 2. deals with the 1862 Exhibition and gives a list of institutions existing on the estate at the time of writing (1877).

WHITE CARD.

1078—1603.

Clark, G. T., The Military Architecture of the Tower of London.

In 'Old London,' 1867, London, pp. 13-139. Illustrated.

Note: Gives an account of the strategic importance of the Tower supported by Baynard's Castle, Montfichet's Castle, and the City Wall, with details of architectural design and a short history.

The group of workers, though not very numerous, is enthusiastic, and hopes to interest others sufficiently to gain more active support. Sir Laurence Gomme, in his Presidential Address to the London Local History Association in 1910, suggested that that body should co-operate with the group in this work. The committee and the hon. secretary of the Association have expressed their approval of

the scheme, which must appeal to all students of London history and topography. Colonel W. F. Prideaux, writing in 'Notes and Queries' in September, 1910, expresses the opinion that the work could be accomplished in five years if a society or group could be formed with one hundred members. If it be possible to accomplish such a useful and valuable work in so comparatively short a time, there ought to be no difficulty in obtaining the necessary assistance. As even parts of the Bibliography may prove useful, and as it must be some time before the whole is completed, the group would like to publish sections serially as completed. Miss Hadley, who has kindly assisted me with information on the origin of the scheme, has given me the following list of the work undertaken :

Archæologia	Miss Calthrop.
Archæological Journal (Institute)	Mr. C. Hughes.
Archæological Papers (several)	Mr. Allan Gomme.
Athenæum	Mr. W. McB. Marcham.
„	Miss Phelps.
„	Mr. W. J. Row.
British Museum Catalogue	Miss Drucker.
„ „ „	Miss Elliot.
„ „ „	Miss Garbet.
„ „ „	Miss Raven.
„ „ „	Mr. Roffey.
„ „ „	Mr. F. Towler.
Builder	Miss Begust.
„	Mr. Hummel.
Essex Archæological Society's	
Trans.	Mr. T. W. Huck.
Essex Field Club's Publications	Mr. T. W. Huck.
Genealogical Publications	Miss Hadley.

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Geological Publications . . .	Miss H. Jones.
Home Counties' Magazine . .	Miss Reddon.
Journal of the British Archæo- logical Assoc. . . .	Mr. C. Hughes.
Kent Archæological Associat. (1st 14 vols.)	Mr. T. W. Huck.
Middlesex and Hertfordshire Notes and Queries . . .	Miss Reddon.
Nineteenth Century	Mr. T. W. Huck.
Notes and Queries	Miss M. Chapman.
Sorting and Classifying Cuttings	Miss Latham.

THOMAS WM. HUCK.

FISHER'S SERMONS AGAINST LUTHER.

IAM now able to answer the question concerning Fisher's Sermon, which I asked in *THE LIBRARY* of last July (3rd Series, II. 314). Instead of one Sermon as there mentioned, there are two Sermons, to which, from internal evidence, the dates of their delivery can now be attached.

This paper divides naturally into two parts:

I. SERMON AGAINST LUTHER, Wynkyn de Worde [1521].

Three copies are known—two in the British Museum and one in the University Library, Cambridge. Another (?) copy in the possession of William Herbert is described in his edition of Ames's 'Typographical Antiquities'—where is this copy now?

All three copies vary, and I give their title-page from the various authorities: the first and second from the British Museum's 'Catalogue of Books printed in England, etc. up to 1640' (II. p. 624), the third from Mr. Sayle's 'Early Printed Books in the University Library, Cambridge' (I. p. 49). I

add also (4) the entry in Herbert's Ames's 'Typographical Antiquities,' I. p. 219.

- (1) ¶ The sermon of Johñ the | bysshop of Rochester
made | again
- (2) ¶ The sermon of Johan the | bysshop of Rochester
made | agayn
- (3) ¶ The sermon of Johñ the | bysshop of Rochester
made | agayn
- (4) ¶ The sermon of John the bysshop of Rochester
made again

- (1) y^e pñicious doctryn of Mar|tin luther win y^e oçtaves
- (2) y^e pñicyous doctryn of Mar|tin luuther win y^e oçtaues
- (3) y^e pñicious doctryn of Mar|tin luther win y^e oçtaues
- (4) y^e pernicious doctryn of Martin Luther within the
oçtaues

- (1) of y^e ascē|syō by y^e assygnemēt of y^e moost re|
verēd fader i god
- (2) of y^e ascē|syon by y^e assingnemēt of y^e moost re|
uerend father i god
- (3) of y^e ascē|syon by y^e assingnemēt of y^e most re|
uerend fader i god
- (4) of y^e ascēnsyō by y^e assygnemēt of y^e moost reuerēd
fader i god

- (1) y^e lord Thomas | Cardynal of yorke & Legate
- (2) y^e lord Thomas | Cardinall of yorke & Legate
- (3) y^e lord Thomas | Cardinal of yorke & Legate
- (4) y^e lord Thomas Cardynal of Yorke & Legate

- (1) ex late | re from our holy father y^e pope
- (2) ex late | re from our holy father the pope.
- (3) ex late | re from our holy father the pope.
- (4) ex latere from our holy father y^e pope.

(1) B.L. 'Wynkyn de Worde' [London, 1521].
4°. G 11903.

Twenty-two leaves, without pagination. The title-page is partly occupied by a woodcut.

(2) Another edition. B.L. Few MS. Notes.
'Wynkyn de Worde' [London, 1521?]. 4°. C 25.
e. 34.

This edition has different initial capitals and other typographical variations from the preceding.

(3) [Col.] ¶ Imprynted by Wynkyn de Worde.
[152—?]. 4°. Sandars Collection.
Cf. Herb. 219. B. M. 624.

(4) This title is within the same cut as used to his two funeral sermons, for K. Henry VII. and afterwards for the princess Margaret his mother, placed in that part where their corps were laid. This copy contains 22 leaves; Mr. Ames mentions 56 pages; and as his orthography differs from mine, 'tis very likely there were two editions of the book, at least. At the end, "¶ Imprynted by Wynkyn de Worde," only; and his picturesque device, enlarged with ornamental pieces, on the last page, which perhaps may be what Mr. Ames calls a fine cut at the end.

W[illiam] H[erbert]. (Quarto.)

Collation of the Cambridge copy (No. 3).

Title, with cut of a bishop in his mitre addressing a standing congregation over a coffin (which is just seen), with border at the top and bottom—see note to sig. D viij². Twenty-two leaves, unpagged, signatures A⁺, B⁶, C⁺, D⁸.

A ij commencing: ¶ Qui venerit paracletus quem ego mittam vobis spiritu veritatis qui a patre procedit ille testimonium perhibebit de me.

These wordes be ^e wordes of our saviour Christ Jesu in ^e gospell of John. and red in the seruyce of this present sonday. thus moche to say in englysshe. whā the cōforter shall come. whom I shall sende unto you the spyryte of trouthe y^t yssueth from my father. he shall bere wytnesse of me. etc.

A iij¹. The fyrst Instruccyon, ending on B iijj¹.

B iijj². The Second instruccyon, ending on C iij¹.

C iij². The third instruccyon, ending on D iij¹.

D iij². The fourth instruccyon, ending on D viij¹.

D viij². Wynkyn de Worde's device (No. 12 in Duff's Hand-Lists), surrounded by five blocks as borders, the top and bottom ones being the same as used on the first page of the book. These two blocks, and the two side ones, are on plate 13 in Duff's Hand-Lists.

Another edition of this Sermon was 'In printed at Lōdō by Robert Caly, within the precinct of the late dissolved house of the graye Freers, nowe converted to an hospital, called Christes hospitall. M.D.LVI.'¹

Professor John E. B. Mayor prints this sermon in his edition of 'The English Works of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester,' Part I., 1876 (Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No. XXVII.), and indicates the variancies of the 1521 and the 1556 edition. He also gives facsimiles of the first page and the last with Wynkyn de Worde's device from the copy (No. 2).

Date of its preaching. In his prefatory words Fisher says the text is taken from the Gospel of St. John read in that day's service. The text is

¹ Also 1554 according to Herbert's Ames, 829.

from the Gospel of St. John, xv. 26, which is read on the first Sunday after Ascension Day. The article on Fisher in the D. N. B. says, 'He preached in the vernacular, before Wolsey and Warham, at Paul's Cross, on the occasion of the burning of the reformer's writings in the churchyard (12th May, 1521), a discourse which was severely handled by William Tyndale.' The first Sunday after Ascension Day in 1521 (according to De Morgan's 'Book of Almanacs') was the 12th May; we, therefore, have here the sermon preached on that day.

II. SERMON AGAINST LUTHERANISM. [1526.]

I placed, in my previous article, this sermon printed by Berthelet as another edition of that previously mentioned as printed by Wynkyn de Worde. This is wrong. Having compared Berthelet's edition with that printed by Wynkyn de Worde (No. 3), I find that the sermon printed by Berthelet is a sermon preached a few years later, upon another occasion.

Collation.

¶ A sermon had at Paulis by | the cōmandment of
the most | reuerend father in god my lorde le= | gate
/and sayd by Johñ the bys= | shop of Rochester/
upō quīqua= | gesom sonday / concernynge | cer-
tayne heretickes / whi= | che thā were abiured for
| holdynge the heresies | of Martyn Luther | that
famous he= | reticke / and for | ȳ kepyng and | re-
teynynge of | his bokes | agaynst | the or= | di= |
nance of the bulle of | pope Leo the | tenth. |
Cū priuilegio a rege indulto. |

Quarto, unpagged. Sigs. A—H⁴. Title within a border consisting of four different ornamental blocks.

Aij¹. Fyrst here foloweth an Epistole/unto the reder by the same byshop./ ending on Aiiij².

Bi¹. "Respice/fides tua te saluum fecit.

These wordes ben writen in y^e gospell/redde in the church this quinquagesime sondaye. They may thus be englisshed. Open thyn eies/thy faith hath made the safe."

Ending on Cij¹.

Cij². [Collections] The fyrste collection. Ending on Diiij².

Diiij¹. The seconde collection.

Ending on Eij¹.

Eij¹. The thyrde collection.

Ending on Fij¹.

Fij¹. The fourth collection concernynge the encrease of good frute.

Hij². Imprinted at London/in fletestrete/in|the house of Thomas Berthelet// nere to the Cundite/at y^e | signe of Lucrece. |

Cum priuilegio a rege indulto. |

Two issues, varying in various ways (as pointed out in THE LIBRARY of July, 1911¹). My copy is wanting Sigs. Gi. and iiij. and H, and is the earliest issue: the Bodleian copy wants Hiiij.—probably blank.

Date of preaching. Fisher's prefatory words of the Sermon (Bi¹.) state the text to be from the gospel read 'this quinquagesime sondaye.' The text is from St. Luke, xviii. 31. Mr. W. W. Greg, in his 'Hand-List of Thos. Berthelet' (p. 14), under the Undated Books, gives 'Fisher. Sermon at Paul's, 11 Feb., 1525. 1529?' According to De Morgan's 'Book of Almanacs,' Quinquagesima

¹ Third Series, II. 317.

Sunday in 1525 was the 26th of February. The Sermon could not have been preached in February, 1525,¹ for Fisher (Giiij.¹) says: 'For he [Luther] hath nowe married hym selfe unto a noūne'; and this event happened on the 11th of June, 1525.

I now give two extracts from the 'D.N.B.':

(1) Cardinal Wolsey (p. 808). 'On 11 Feb. 1526 he went with great pomp to St. Paul's when Robert Barnes bore a faggot for heresy.'

(2) Robert Barnes, D.D., 1495-1540 (p. 1174). 'He was accordingly examined in February by the bishops of London, Rochester, Bath and St. Asaph's. . . . The result of his examination was that he was called on to abjure or burn. . . . He and four German merchants of the steelyard, who had been condemned at the same time for propagating Luther's writings, were sentenced to carry faggots at St. Paul's. On the day appointed the cathedral was crowded. The cardinal, with six and thirty abbots, mitred priors and bishops in full pomp, sat enthroned on a scaffold at the top of the stairs, and Bishop Fisher of Rochester preached a sermon against Lutheranism; after which Barnes and the others knelt down, asked forgiveness of God, the Church, and the Cardinal, and then were conducted to the rood at the north door of the Cathedral, where, a fire being lighted, they cast in their faggots. They were then absolved by Bishop Fisher.'

Now, Quinquagesima Sunday in 1526 fell on the

¹ It would, however, have been called 1525 at the time, since as long as the year was generally reckoned as beginning on 25th March, February, 1525, would follow June, 1525. A. W. P.

11th February. This date coincides with the sermon of Bishop Fisher preached at the abjuration of Robert Barnes, as given in the previous quotations from the D. N. B. So I think we may be certain in saying that this Sermon was preached on the 11th February, 1526, and was probably printed soon afterwards.

Fisher prefaced the Sermon with an Epistle to the Reader, and in the first sentence calls his work a 'queare'—'ȝ shall fortune to rede this queare'—and a little way on we get a view of the congregation in the Cathedral on that day, and also of Bishop Fisher's willingness to reason about Lutheranism, so that either he converted his opposer, or was himself converted to Lutheranism.

(A iiij¹). I haue put forth this sermon to be redde / whiche for ȝ great noyse of ȝ people within ȝ churche of Paules / whan it was sayde / myght nat be herde. And if parauētūre any disciple of Luthers shall thynke / that myn argumentes and reasons agaynst his maister be nat sufficient: Fyrste let hym consider / that I dyd shape them to be spoken untyll a multytude of people / whiche were nat brought up in ȝ subtyll disputations of the schole. Seconde, if it may lyke the same disciple to come unto me secretely / and breake his mynde at more length / I binde me by these presentes / bothe to kepe his secreasy / and also to spare a leysoure for hym to here the bottum of his mynde / and he shal here myne agayne / if it so please him : and I trust in our lorde / that fynally we shall so agre / that either he shal make me a Luthera / or els I shall enduce hym to be a catholyke / and to folowe the doctryne of Christis church.

When comparing my copy of the 1526 Sermon

with the 1521 Sermon in the Cambridge University Library, I found them lettered and bound exactly alike by F. Bedford. Evidently no one had realized the difference between them, or they would not have been similarly lettered. The late Professor John E. B. Mayor could not have known in 1876 of the 1526 Sermon, or he would have mentioned it in the preface to his edition of Fisher's 'English Works,' published in that year. I said in my previous communication to THE LIBRARY that my copy contains the inscription: 'E libris Joh. S. Wood A.D. 1879,' and came into Professor Mayor's possession, being sold along with his library in May, 1911. This copy and the 1521 Sermon in the Cambridge University Library came from the same source, and I strongly suspect formed the boards of some book of contemporary date, of which, unfortunately, all trace is now lost.

It is a source of satisfaction that when this description appears in print, my 1526 Sermon will have been acquired by the Cambridge University Library, and the two Sermons once more will rest together under one roof.

G. J. GRAY.

THE SO-CALLED GUTENBERG DOCUMENTS.¹

THE explanations that have been given while discussing the Helmasperger Instrument as to the types and books attributed to Gutenberg, show how easy it is to demonstrate that, laden as he was with the debts contracted by him at Strassburg in 1442 and at Mainz in 1448, 1450, and 1452, he could not, from 1450 to 1455, or earlier or later, have been in a position to manufacture the eight or twelve types or printed the twenty-three books enumerated in List A. If he had done anything of the kind, or even approaching it, it would have come out at his trial in 1455.

But it is not so easy to allocate these types and books to any definite printer or printers. This is partly owing to the bad condition of the published photographs, some of which are reduced in size, partly to the more or less confused explanations given of them by German bibliographers. With respect to some of them, however, we stand on firm ground. Type v., that of the 'Missale Speciale,' cannot be Gutenberg's, as its style and design show that it could not have been manufactured before 1480; nor can the two Missals printed with it be dated before

¹ Continued from Vol. II., page 421.

that year. Most German bibliographers admit this. Types vi. and vii. cannot be ascribed to Gutenberg, because the colophon of the Psalter for which they were employed states that Fust and Schoeffer printed it in 1457. And it is difficult to see how, in the face of this colophon and with the certainty that, in the infancy of printing, every printer cast his own type, these types could be assigned to any other printer.

The questions connected with the Catholicon type (viii.) have been so fully discussed under Document XXVII. (26th February, 1468) that it will suffice to repeat here that the difficulties connected with this type are solved if we simply follow the ordinary rules of evidence and bibliography, and ascribe the Catholicon and the other books, etc., printed in the same type, to Fust and Schoeffer.

There remain for our consideration the books printed in types which the German bibliographers of the present day call 'the Gutenberg type.' According to my researches this name is misleading; we cannot speak of merely *one* type, as we have to deal with four or five types, which much resemble each other, but yet differ in form. The German authors, who have paid so much attention to these types, do not take sufficient notice of the differences, and, misled by the great likeness between them, regard them all as phases or developments of one type, and call them *the* Gutenberg type. They think that there are three such phases of this one type: (1) the *Donatus* type, used, they say, for the 'Weltgericht,' the 1451 'Donatus,' and two other 'Donatuses'; (2) the Kalendar type,

employed, it is contended, for the Astronomical Kalendar of 1448 (No. v.) and fifteen other works; (3) the type of B³⁶.

As regards this Bible, various circumstances point to Albrecht Pfister of Bamberg as its printer. In former years, when the Church type employed in the 1454 Indulgence³¹ was believed to be identical with that of B³⁶, it was the general opinion that Pfister, though he could not have printed the Indulgence, had acquired its Church type from Gutenberg and printed B³⁶ with it. Now that a closer examination shows that the B³⁶ type was not used so early as 1454, or at least not employed in 1454 for the Indulgence, Pfister's known dates (1461, 1462) harmonize with the approximate date (1460-61) of B³⁶. He issued, on 14th February, 1461, at Bamberg, with the B³⁶ type, an edition of Boner's 'Edelstein' (88 leaves, fol., with wood-engravings), and at least eight other works (Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 161 *sq.*), one of which bears the date 1462, the seven others none. A transfer or sale of this type from Gutenberg to Pfister is improbable, for reasons stated above; it is also contrary to that universal practice in the infancy of printing of printers starting with a type of their own making. Moreover, the fact that most of the copies of B³⁶ now known to us were at one time or other preserved in the libraries of Bavaria, and several fragments of it were discovered in monasteries in that country, even in a register of the abbey of St. Michael at Bamberg, dated 1460, strongly points to B³⁶ having been printed in the latter town.

So that from a bibliographical and typographical point of view we must attribute B³⁶ to him, and I am not aware of any reason against our doing so, whereas there are strong reasons for not ascribing it to Gutenberg, as he, if the Documents that speak of him can be relied on, was, from 1442 till his death in 1468, too poor and too much in debt to print a work of such magnitude as B³⁶, if he printed anything at all.

But though we may with some certainty regard Pfister as the printer of B³⁶, there are doubts as to his being the printer of the Nos. viii. (Turk-Kalendar, 1455), ix. (Calixtus Bull, 1456), xi. (Laxier-Kalendar, 1457), xii. (Cisianus, *c.* 1457), which German authors regard as being printed in the same type as B³⁶.

If the dates printed in the first three books (1455-7) could be taken as the years of their having been printed, it would be doubtful at least whether these books could have been printed by Pfister, as there is no evidence of his having printed so early. It is, moreover, said that the form of some of their capitals differ from those of B³⁶, which makes it difficult to class them with this Bible. On the other hand, the period in which they are supposed to have been printed is a critical one in Gutenberg's career, as in 1455 he was prosecuted for the repayment of a large sum of money, apparently on the ground of his not having done the stipulated work for it, and he was, in consequence, hopelessly bankrupt in 1457.

Some German bibliographers, who regard the years printed in these books as the years of their

production, feel yet inclined to ascribe the books to Pfister, but—to Pfister as working in Gutenberg's printing-office at Mainz, a contingency which is impossible in the face of the Helmasperger Instrument. But can the years found in them be taken as sure evidence for the books having been printed in those years? We have, in a type *resembling* that of B³⁶, the Astronomical Kalendar (v.) which apparently calculates the ephemerides for 1448, so that it is assumed to have been printed at the end of 1447. This calculation, however, is no conclusive evidence of its having been printed in 1447, as Kalendars of this kind appear to have been issued without being prepared for any particular year or circumstances. A few years ago the Cisianus (xii.) was thought to have been printed in 1443-4 (and, therefore, to be ascribed to Gutenberg), because some of the saints and movable feasts mentioned in it seemed to relate exclusively to that year. But as the same saints and feasts occur in the same way in Cisianus editions printed long after 1500, Gutenberg had to be abandoned.¹ The Astronomical Kalendar lays down rules for blood-letting at certain seasons of the year, and was evidently intended to be hung up in houses as guides for this operation. But it has not yet been proved that these rules required, at that period, a special Kalendar for each year in particular. It is, moreover, admitted that some of its calculations

¹ See on this question, K. Haebler, 'Le soi-disant Cisianus de 1443,' who points out the uncertainty of the dates of those early Kalendars, and dates the Cisianus c. 1457.

are wrong if we apply them to the year 1448, and that the same calculations would equally well apply to the year 1468.

Whichever year we may ascribe it to, 1447 or 1467, or any other year, its type cannot be taken as a connecting link between that of the 'Weltgericht' (No. i.) and Paris 'Donatus' (No. iii.), and that of B³⁶, nor as a link between any of the other books, as the differences between them are too great for such a purpose. The poem on the 'Weltgericht,' which, according to the German theory, must be regarded, so far as we know, as Gutenberg's first work, is printed on *paper*, and, therefore, looks strange at the head of a list which includes, and, but for this poem, begins with, *vellum* printed works. It looks a specimen of early German printing, but not more 'primitive' than the paper printed Turk-kalendar, Cisianus, and Laxier-kalendar. It certainly could not be placed in 1443-4, that is, thirteen or fourteen years earlier than these books, and will take a more natural place by their side, in spite of its different type, and in this position help to show that in Germany printing on paper was then beginning to supersede that on vellum. The assertion that its type is the same as that of the 1451 'Donatus' cannot be sustained. And as regards the date 1443-4 assigned to it, if the Helmasperger Instrument can be trusted, it plainly shows that in 1450 Gutenberg borrowed money on the security of tools which he still had to make, and was, therefore, at that time destitute of any kind of printing apparatus, or other property, such

as he must have had if he had been printing poems since 1443, Donatuses since 1444 or 1445, Astronomical Kalendars since 1447, etc., etc., not to speak of the many 'experiments' which we are told must have preceded these works.

Therefore, with the certainty that the types of the 'Weltgericht' are not identical with those of the 1451 'Donatus,' and that it must be removed to a later place (say 1455-6) in the list, and the probability that the Astronomical Kalendar was printed later than 1447, we get, as a starting point, a Donatus (No. ii.) which Schwenke thinks must be placed after the 'Weltgericht' (suppose we retain this as No. i.), but before the Paris 'Donatus' with the written (though possibly fictitious) year 1451. Why it should be placed thus I do not know. If its type is that of the 1451 'Donatus,' it must differ from that of the 'Weltgericht,' and *vice versa*.

Though the date 1451 is written on this document discovered by Bodmann, and is, therefore, suspicious, I hardly feel disposed to throw doubts on its authenticity, especially as it points to the time (1451) when Gutenberg, according to the Helmasperger Instrument of 1455, may be supposed to have been in a position to exercise the new art of printing in a small way. How far any of the other books could be ascribed to him I do not know. Their types require to be examined more thoroughly than has hitherto been done before an independent opinion could be formed on this point. There can be no harm in letting them be known, for the sake of argument, as

'Gutenbergiana,' provided we do not call him the inventor of printing, which is against all existing evidence.

We have now to consider the remaining Documents.

XXI. 21 June, 1457. Johann Gutenberg is named as witness in a Notarial Instrument, whereby property (situated in the village of Bodenheim, near Mainz, which a certain Peter Schlüssel had presented some years before to one Dielnhenne residing in the same village) was sold to Johann Gensfleisch, junior, husband of the daughter of Gutenberg's brother. The purchaser bound himself to pay annually in perpetuity 30 malters of wheat to the St. Victor Stift at Mainz, of which Gutenberg was a lay-brother (perhaps from that year onwards, if not earlier) till his death in 1468 (see below, Doc. No. XXVI.). The contract was executed in the house of Leonhard Mengoiss, Canon of the Stift.

The vellum original, drawn up by the Notary Ulrich Helmasperger (see the preceding Document of 6th November, 1455), had formerly belonged (Schaab, 'Buchdruckerk.' ii., 270) to the Victor Chapter, but had come from the Bodmann collection and is now in the Mainz Town Library. It proves (says Schorbach, 'Festschr.,' p. 281) that Gutenberg was then at Mainz, and that, therefore, there is no ground for the statement of Joh. Fr. Faust von Aschaffenburg (in his discourse on the origin of printing) that Gutenberg, after his lawsuit with Fust, had gone in a passion to Strassburg, and had probably possessed there a workshop of

his own. See further, Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' Doc. No. 15, p. 103.

XXII. 1457/8-1460/1. Entries in the Account-books of the St. Thomas Stift at Strassburg for the years 1457 to 1461, regarding the annual four pounds for interest due from Gutenberg (or, failing him, from Martin Brechter, his surety) on the loan of 80 pounds which they had obtained from the said Stift on 17th November, 1442; see above, Nos. XIII. and XVII. Under the latter number it has been pointed out that this annual interest had been regularly paid by or on behalf of Gutenberg till the 11th November, 1457. But already the latter payment seems to have caused some difficulty to the Stift, as among their expenses recorded from 24th June (Johannis), 1457, till 24th June, 1458, occurs an item of 2s. for arresting the two debtors. As, however, the four pounds due on the 11th November, 1457, do not appear anywhere among the outstanding arrears owing to the Chapter, it may be assumed that the Chapter had received them later on, perhaps in consequence of the measures taken by them. It is, however, beyond doubt that on the 11th November, 1458, when the next payment became due, both Gutenberg and his surety remained in default, and from that day onwards the Annual Accounts of the St. Thomas Stift regularly record the 4 pounds as outstanding (see Tab. 18 and 19 in the Atlas to the 'Festschr.'). Nor had the two letters of summons which the Stift despatched to Gutenberg, between 24th June, 1459, and 24th June, 1460, at the expense of 5 shillings, to an address which

is not named, any result. See further, Doc. No. XXIII.

XXIIA. 1458. A forged imprint (on fol. 57) in the copy of Pope Gregory's Dialogues, printed at Strassburg about 1470 by Henr. Eggstein (Hain *10290), which is preserved at Wilton House, in the Library of the Earl of Pembroke.

This somewhat cleverly but yet clumsily fabricated imprint runs: 'Presens hoc op' factum est per Johan./Guttenbergium apud Argentinam / anno millessimo cccclviii. /,' and was, therefore, intended to convey the impression that the book was printed by 'Johan Gutenberg, at Strassburg, in 1458.' The type, however, of the forged imprint differs from the genuine one of the book, and the forger, whoever he was, did not take—or was unable to take—account of the old and blunted condition, and the exact size of the genuine type, and consequently manufactured a new and slightly larger one than that of Eggstein. See for further details Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 103 *sqq.*

XXIIB. 24 July, 1459. A document dated ('an sand margreden dag der heiligen Junckfrawen,' *i.e.*) 20th July, 1459, made like letters patent, with four seals, etc., appended to it. It represents brothers, called Henne Genssfleisch von Sulgeloch genannt Gudinberg, and Friele Genssfleisch, as relinquishing on that day, at the advice and with the consent of their relatives Henne, Friele, and Pedirmanne, all claims to whatever their sister Hebele had brought with her into the Convent Reichenclaren, and Henne Genssfleisch in particular promises that the books which he has given to the

library of that convent shall for ever belong to it, and that he will give to the same library all the books which he, Henne, has caused to be printed, and might print in future.

This document is now admitted to be one of Prof. Bodmann's forgeries. His friend Fischer ('Beschreib. typogr. Seltenh.,' 1800, i., p. 42) was the first to publish it in the German language, from a transcript made for him by Bodmann, who pretended to have discovered the original in the Mainz University Archives. In 1801 Oberlin published a French translation of it ('Essai d'annal. de la vie de Gutenberg,' p. 4), merely remarking that Bodmann had discovered it. Fischer reprinted the German text in 1802 in his 'Essai sur les mon. typ.,' 46, with the addition of Oberlin's translation. Since then it has frequently been reprinted by later authors on Gutenberg. Schorbach, admitting that it is a fictitious document, only notices it in a note on his page 165. See further Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' Doc. 17, p. 107.

XXIIc. 1460. The falsified date in a Prognostication or Kalendar, printed in 1482, preserved in the Darmstadt Hofbibliothek, and described on p. 88 of Walther's 'Beiträge zur näheren Kenntniss der Hofbibl. (8vo, Darmstadt, 1867) as the 'Calender von 1460.' It was first described by Gotthelf Fischer, in 1804 ('Typogr. Seltenh.,' vi., 69), who said that it had the date (14)60. When Bernard was at Darmstadt in 1853 the book could not be found ('Orig.,' i., 206). But Hessels (see his 'Gutenberg,' p. 111) saw it in October, 1881, and found that the printed date

(Mcccc)lxxxii had been altered to lx by scratching out the two x's and two i's. The author of this falsification is not known, but Fischer declared that Herr Podozzi, a dealer in works of art, had discovered the leaves in the binding of a book and forwarded them to him for inspection. Fischer, however, seems to have committed a forgery with regard to another work printed in this same type, entitled 'Tractatus de celebratione missarum secundum frequentiorem cursum diocesis maguntinensis.' A copy of this 'Tractatus' is said to have been transferred, in 1781, from the Carthusian Monastery near Mainz to the University Library of that town. And Fischer, who gives its title twice ('Essai sur les monumens typogr. de Jean Gutenberg,' Mayence, 1802, p. 81, and 'Typogr. Seltenh.,' 1803, iv., 18) asserts that in that library he discovered it bound in one volume with a number of MS. tracts, and that the rubricator had written on it with red ink (in Latin) that 'the Carthusian Monastery near Mainz possessed this book (through the liberal gift of Joh. Gutenberg) completed by his wonderful art and that of Joh. Nummeister clerk. Anno domini 1463, 13 Kal. Jul. (=19th June).' After Fischer, no one has ever seen this copy, though great efforts have been made to find it. Its date is, of course, an impossibility. On the strength of the above two forgeries a set of eight books, all printed in the same type, were for nearly a century ascribed to Gutenberg (see Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 107 *sqq.*).

XXIII. 10 April 1461. Letter from the Strassburg St. Thomas Chapter to the Imperial Tribunal

at Rottweil, authorising Michel Rosemberg, the Procurator of that Court, to take proceedings against Johann Guttenberg for the recovery of the money he owed them. The Chapter claimed the interest due to them from Gutenberg, together with the expenses which they had incurred in taking measures to obtain this interest (see Document No. XXII.), and also the pledge assigned to them in the contract (see above, Nos. XIII., XVII., XXII.), that is the annuity of 10 gold guilders which Gutenberg had inherited from his uncle Leheymer. The original letter has not come down to us, but the copy of it kept by the Chapter was discovered by Prof. Charles Schmidt in 1841 in the Thomas Archives (Tiroir XV., Diverses No. X., now deposited in the Town Archives at Strassburg). Schorbach ('Festschrift,' p. 284 *sqq.*) published the contents of this letter, and explains that the Rottweil Tribunal despatched a messenger to Mainz to summon Gutenberg before them, but the latter as a subject of the Mainz Archbishop and as a Mainz citizen was not amenable to any foreign, not even the Imperial Tribunal. Gutenberg's case, therefore, was to be dealt with at Mainz, and the St. Thomas Accountbook of 1461/2 shows that the Rottweil Court had taken certain steps to begin the proceedings. See the next Document.

XXIV. 1461-74. Various entries in the Accountbooks of the Strassburg St. Thomas Stift for these years, showing that neither Gutenberg nor his surety, Martin Brechter, ever paid, during these years, the annual interest of 4 pounds due from them to the Chapter (see above, the numbers

XIII., XVII., XXII., XXIII.). The entries (all printed by Schorbach, p. 287 *sqq.*) also show that the latter did all in their power to have the defaulters arrested, and incurred various expenses for this purpose. They seem to have succeeded in apprehending Martin Brechter at Hagenau some time before 1466 at the expense of 7s., and incurred further expenses for his arrest in 1473/4; it also appears that the Rottweil Court sent a messenger to Mainz to summon Gutenberg in 1461/2, but all in vain. At last the Chapter abandoned the case as lost, and after 24th June, 1474, more than six years after the death of Gutenberg, neither his name nor that of his co-debtor appear any longer in the Registers.

XXIVA. 19 June, 1463. A forged date in a copy of '*Traſtatus de celebratione miſſarum ſecundum frequentioreſ curſum diocēſis maguntiniſis*'; see above, 1460 (Document No. XXIIc.).

XXV. 17 Jan. 1465. On this day the Archbishop Adolf of Mainz, by a decree (dated: *Eltvil am donnerstag ſant Anthonij tag Anno 1465*) appoints Johann Gutenberg as his ſervant and courtier for life, on account of the 'grateful and willing ſervice which he had rendered to himſelf and to his Stift, and will and may render in future.'

The original Decree is loſt, but a contemporary copy of it (the text of which is printed by Schorbach, '*Feſtſchr.*,' p. 290) is preſerved on leaf 172^a of a Mainz Memoranda book, which ſeems to have been compiled in the Archbishop's Chancery; it contains Acts from 1463 to 1468, and is now preſerved in the Würzburg Archives ('*Ingroſſatur*

Adolphi II. Lib. I.' : Mainz-Aschaffenburg In-grossaturnbuch No. 30). Schorbach tells us (p. 294) that it has hitherto been overlooked that Gutenberg rendered the prescribed oath of fidelity to the Elector, and also the customary 'Reverse' or Letter of obligation referred to in the line 'Dedit literam reversalem etc.,' found at the end of the Decree.

Some authors presume that the Archbishop bestowed this favour on Gutenberg on account of the attitude taken up by him during the episcopal dispute of that time, in having, perhaps, as an adherent of the aristocratic party, favoured Adolf's cause. Others think that he had rendered services to the Church by some typographical work. But there is not one word in the Decree to show either the nature or the extent of the service for which the Archbishop rewarded Gutenberg.

XXVI. 1467/68. Two undated entries of the name Hengin Gutenberg in the 'Liber fraternitatis' of the St. Victor Stift near Mainz, of which Brotherhood Gutenberg was, at the time of his death, a lay-member, and had perhaps been since 1457 (see above, Doc. No. XXI.), possibly even since his return to Mainz in 1448. The first entry (which Bodmann erroneously regarded as Gutenberg's autograph) appears (on leaf 7^b) among the names of the living lay-members; the second (on leaf 12^b) among those of the deceased members of the fraternity. The latter entry, cut out by Bodmann, was found among the papers left by him, and re-inserted in its proper place, and so appears in the facsimile of that particular part of the Register published in the Atlas (Pl. 23) to the

‘Festschrift’; the piece itself seems to be in the Mainz Town Library (Schorbach, ‘Festschr.’ p. 297). This ‘Liber fraternitatis’ (a small folio of twenty vellum leaves) which was, as Schorbach says, still at Mainz in the beginning of the nineteenth century, is now preserved in the Darmstadt Hof- und Staat-Archiv (Kopialbücher Mainz S. Viktor, No. 3).

XXVIA. 2 February [1468]. An entry in an Anniversarium of the Dominican Church at Mainz, which reads: ‘Obiit dominus Johannes zum Ginsefleis cum duabis candelis super lapidem prope cadedram predicantis habens arma Ginsefleis.’ This entry had never been connected with Gutenberg until Bockenheimer published his ‘Gutenberg’s Grabstätte’ (Mainz, 1876). It has been shown, however, by Dr. Schenk zu Schweinsberg, the Archivist of Darmstadt, that the entry is really anterior to 1423, and does not relate to Gutenberg, but to a ‘Johannes zum Gensfleisch,’ who was probably Gutenberg’s grand-uncle; see further Hessels, ‘Gutenberg,’ p. 116 *sqq.*

XXVII. 26 February, 1468. A letter of obligation (Reverse) of Dr. Kunrad Humery, concerning a printing apparatus (‘etliche formen buchstaben Instrument gezauwe und anders zu dem truckwerck gehorende), which he seems, at one time or other, to have procured for, and lent to, Gutenberg. At the latter’s death this apparatus appears to have been, according to the above bond, in the hands of the Archbishop of Mainz, who handed or delivered it, on the above day, to Humery, the latter binding himself that in case he should

require, then or afterwards, for the purposes of printing ('zu trucken') such formes and apparatus ('soliche formen und gezeuge'), he would use them within Mainz and nowhere else, and if he were to sell them, and a citizen of Mainz offered him as much as a stranger, he would favour the citizen before all strangers.

The original of this Reverse, which was probably written on vellum, has not come down to us. But a copy, taken perhaps not long afterwards, is found on leaf 85^a of the 'Ingrossaturbuch Adolphi II. Lib. II.' (Mainz-Aschaffenburg Ingrossaturbuch, No. 31) a folio paper Codex of 157 leaves (preserved in the Royal Kreis-Archives at Würzburg, which contains copies, unchronologically arranged, of documents of the years 1463 to 1474. Its text was published (probably from the Codex) for the first time in 1727, by Joannis ('Scriptt. rer. Mogunt., iii., 424), and afterwards from his text by various authors. In 1882 it was published, from the 'Ingrossaturbuch,' by Hessels ('Gutenberg,' p. 121), and in 1900 by Schorbach ('Festschrift,' p. 302).

The document gives the approximate date of Gutenberg's death, which must have taken place before the date of this document, may be at the end of 1467. It is not known whether he died at Mainz or at Eltvil, the residence of the Archbishop, his patron and benefactor. Nor is there any certainty as to his burial place. At the end of a small tract, published in 1499 by Merstetter in honour of the Heidelberg Professor Marsilius ab Inghen (see Hain, 10781), is printed an

Epigram of Wimpfeling on Gutenberg (Foelix Ansicare, etc.), preceded by a few lines said to have been engraved on a memorial-slab supposed to have been erected by Adam Gelthuss, one of Gutenberg's relatives. At the end of these lines appear the words: 'Ossa eius in ecclesia diui Francisci Moguntina foeliciter cubant,' which could not have been on a memorial-slab in the Franciscan Church, if Gutenberg had been buried there. It is presumed, however, that they are a later addition to the said tract, and that Gutenberg was really buried there. Moreover, Dr. Schenk zu Schweinsberg, the Archivist of Darmstadt, has proved ('Archiv für hess. Gesch. xv. 337 *sqq.*) that the entry in an 'Anniversarium' of the Dominican Church at Mainz, thought by Bockenheim ('Gutenberg's Grabstätte,' Mainz, 1876) to relate to Gutenberg, had no connection with him (see further Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' Doc. No. 22, p. 116 *sqq.*). Schorbach (p. 301) suggests that Gutenberg himself may have chosen the Franciscan Church as his last resting-place, because his grandmother was buried there, while the church was situated opposite his first printing-office, the Hof zum Humbrecht, and in the monastery next to the church was the Refectorium where, on the 6th November, 1455, Fust took the oath which had such disastrous results for Gutenberg. The church, handed over to the Jesuits in 1577, was demolished in 1742.

The many speculations and stories as to Gutenberg's printing activity, after his lawsuit with Fust in 1455, and a printing-school ascribed to him,

which, on the strength of this Reverse, had for many years been circulating, were in 1882 proved to be unfounded or untenable (see Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' Doc. No. 23, p. 119 *sqq.*). But in the 'Festschrift,' 1900, p. 304 *sqq.*, Schorbach again discusses the question as to whether Humery had possessed a completely equipped printing-office (Druckerei), or merely some letters or types and printing-tools. He thinks that from the word 'ettliche,' which may mean 'an indefinite number or many,' we can draw no certain conclusions. He finds it difficult to

adequately explain the technical expressions of the Reverse. By the side of the 'formen,' he says, are the (letters) 'buchstaben'; by the side of the 'instrument' the 'gezauwe' (=gezuge), and assuming a complete office, we may take 'formen' to mean 'matrices,' being separated from the 'buchstaben' (types), just as the 'matrices' are called 'formae' and distinguished from the 'patronae' or patrices in the colophon to the Catholicon of 1460; though in this Reverse, a few lines further down, 'soliche formen' are used for printing; hence they were, perhaps, the same as the 'literae formatae' or 'formae,' mentioned in the Avignon documents as metal types!

Schorbach, unable to explain the word 'instrument,' says that

it indicates something different from 'gezuge,' and may be taken in its widest sense. If it were a complete printing inventory, it may indicate preparations for casting type, as 'instrument,' in the phraseology of early printing, was the *terminus technicus* for a casting-mould, and in type-foundries is still known as *Giessinstrument*.

The general term *gezuge* or *gezauwe* (two linguistic formations having the same meaning from the same root) occurs also in the Strassburg Lawsuit of 1439 and the Notarial Document of 1455, where it means implements, tools (Germ. *Werkzeuge*, *Gerätschaften*). It may include the utensils of the compositor (*i.e.* composing-sticks, galleys, letter-cases, formes or chases), the implements and tools for putting or laying on colours (*e.g.* an ink-block, ink-ball, etc.), and even a press and its belongings, as, according to the document, the 'gezuge' could also be used for printing (*zu trucken*). The remaining 'zu dem truckwerk gehorende' may, if we assume a complete office, be explained as a 'store of metal for types, parchment, paper, printing-ink.'

All these types and printing-implements, says Schorbach (p. 305), were, at Gutenberg's death, in the precincts of the Court (*Hofbezirk*) of the Archbishop, and probably in the town of Mainz.

The vague and indefinite wording of the Reverse allows such a comprehensive and liberal construction as that of Schorbach to be put upon it. Zedler, as usual, goes a step further, and speaks ('Gutenberg-Forsch.', pp. 114, 115) of Gutenberg as '*the leader of the Humery printing-office.*' At first sight it seems natural to assume that, if Humery thought it desirable to go to the expense of assisting Gutenberg with the various things mentioned by name in the Reverse as his property, he may have considered it expedient to furnish Gutenberg with a more or less *complete* printing-apparatus, as with a few isolated implements (say, a press without types, or types without a press or formes, or patrices without matrices or lead), the latter, with all his genius, could not have expected to print

anything. But let us examine the circumstances surrounding this printing-office.

Humery was, according to Schorbach (*l.c.* p. 306),

a Mainz Jurist and Syndic as early as 1435. In course of time he became one of the chief leaders of the Mainz populace, and, during the Mainz embroilment of 1461 and 1462, served the Archbishop Diether von Isenburg. From the municipal accounts of 1436 and later years it appears that he lived in good circumstances, and had, as municipal Chancellor, an annual income of 208 gold guilders. He seems to have been a passionate politician and a 'jolly fellow,' who was, in 1443, one of the founders of a gastronomic brotherhood or fraternity, which was jocularly called 'the self-ruling order' ('der selpweldie orden'). Among the members of this union Humery was known by a nickname (zimernkrose). By way of contrast he was also a member of the clerical fraternity of Stephan at Mainz, the necrology of which indicates that he died about the year 1472.

We cannot wonder that Gutenberg became acquainted with a man of this merry and lively disposition. He had himself taken part, if we believe all that is said of him, in his lifetime in some embroilments, and was apparently not averse from good cheer, as is shown by the large quantity of wine which he had stored up in his cellar from 1436 to 1439 (see above Document No. IX.). He was likewise a lay-member of a clerical fraternity, that of St. Victor near Mainz. But however much sympathy there may have been between the two men, Humery seems to have been a little cautious, and to have thought it prudent to assist

Gutenberg with 'instruments,' the right to which he could reserve to himself, rather than with ready cash.

We know that Fust had acted in somewhat the same cautious way towards Gutenberg, but, for want of any better security, had taken a lien on Gutenberg's tools before they had actually been made.

It should be observed that the things mentioned in the Humery Bond, whatever they were, had, and still, belonged to Humery. But they had, till the date of the Document, evidently never been in Humery's house. Gutenberg seems to have had the loan or the use of them. For how long or where he had stored or used them, or what use he had made of them during the time that they were in his keeping, is not stated anywhere. And when Humery, on 26th February, 1468, says that the Archbishop had delivered or sent them (Germ. *folgen layszen*, let follow; the two words occur twice) to him, he does not name the place from whence they came nor the place where they had gone to. Nor is it stated anywhere whether the 'buchstaben' were 'types,' or, taking this for granted, whether they had been used for printing anything.

A printing-office established under the circumstances described in the above vague way, and held only on loan by a printer in such an impoverished position as Gutenberg was, could not have been very large or have produced great results.

Some bibliographers assert that, as a result of the lawsuit between Fust and Gutenberg, the latter was deprived of the tools and other things which

he had made, or is thought to have made, with Fust's money, but that afterwards Dr. Homery (or Humery) lent him money to enable him to set up another printing-office. Though we know of no incunabula that could with any approach to certainty be ascribed to this Humery-Gutenberg printing-office, it is assumed (Schorbach, p. 307, has little doubt about it) that Gutenberg printed at Mainz, with the types lent him by Humery, the 'Catholicon' of 1460,¹ besides a small tract of Matth. de Cracovia ('Tract. rationis'), another of Thomas Aquinas ('Summa de Articulis fidei') an Indulgence and a Bull of 1461. But as Peter Schoeffer, about 1470, advertises the 'Catholicon' and the three small tracts for sale,² and appears, therefore, as their proprietor, they argue further that Schoeffer may have acquired the stock of these books that remained after Gutenberg's death, or after the latter had ceased to print. It is further assumed that, about 1465, when the Archbishop of Mainz appointed Gutenberg as his servant and courtier (see above, Doc. XXV.), the latter quitted Mainz to reside at the Archbishop's Court at Eltvil, and there, finding that his position pre-

¹ Falk ('Centralbl. f. Bibliothekw.,' v., 306) says that the Vatican Library possesses one of Humery's writing-books, containing the lectures which he heard at Bologna in 1430 of the Jurist Lapi, and that at the end of this book is bound a leaf of the 'Catholicon.'

² A facsimile of this broadside advertisement is published by Wilh. Meyer (who discovered it in the Munich Hofbibliothek) in the 'Centralbl. f. Bibl.,' 1885, p. 437; by Konr. Burger, 'Bücheranz. des 15. Jahrh.,' 1907, Pl. 3 and 5; and Velke, in 'Gutenberg-Gesellsch.,' v.-vii., 1908, p. 221 sqq., Tab. iv.

vented him from printing himself, passed the Catholicon type on to Henry Bechtermuncze. It is thought that this type, with some additions already found in the 1461 Indulgence, was, in 1467, in the hands of the brothers Bechtermuncze, and that they printed with it, on the 4th November of that year, a 'Vocabularius ex quo,' of 166 quarto leaves, and a second edition of it on 5th June, 1469. But it is difficult to see how the type mentioned by Homery in 1468 as *his* type could have been the Catholicon type, as in such a case it must have been in 1460 and 1461 in Gutenberg's hands at Mainz; in 1465 he must have passed it on to Bechtermuncze at Eltvil, who printed with it in 1467; a few weeks afterwards, *i.e.*, in February, 1468, it must have been in the hands of the Archbishop at Mainz, who returned it to Homery, and by June, 1469, it must again have been for some time in the hands of the Bechtermunczes at Eltvil. All these supposed migrations and borrowings of a type are possible but improbable, as in the period of which we speak every printer cast his own type, and it would have been singular if the Bechtermunczes had done otherwise.

The difficulties of these migrations have already been pointed out by me, by Bernard and others (see my 'Gutenberg,' p. 143 *sqq.*). Their only solution lies in following the ordinary rules and evidence of bibliography and taking Fust and Schoeffer as the printers and publishers of the Catholicon, etc. Schoeffer advertises them, apparently as belonging to him. There seems to be

no reason for discarding this bibliographical evidence and going out of our way in order to ascribe to Gutenberg, during the years of his insolvency, the printing of books which might have sufficiently taxed the resources of an ordinary well-to-do printer. The colophon of the *Catholicon* is that of a printer or printers like Fust and Schoeffer, who think highly of their new craft and endeavour to recommend it. It actually recurs almost verbatim, in three books published by them in 1465 and 1467. On the other hand, it is not a colophon of a brokendown printer who, during the last twenty-six years of his life, seems to have lived on borrowed money; who had just been prosecuted by one creditor for the repayment of a large sum of money, and was pursued by another creditor whom he could only keep at bay by remaining within the walls of Mainz.

Schwenke ('Gutenberg-Feier,' p. 71) thinks that the *Catholicon* could not have been printed by Gutenberg, as it is the work of a beginner, judging by the endings of the lines, the total absence of hyphens, and the irregularity of the interpunction at the end of the lines, which sometimes appears inside, sometimes outside, the columns.

The same considerations would, of course, prevent us from ascribing the book to Schoeffer. But all these peculiarities may be due to the printer having faithfully followed his manuscript model not only in cutting his type, but in composing a work of 746 pages, with two columns each of 66 lines to a page, in which the spacing out of the lines to make them even would cause endless difficulties

and loss of time. On the other hand, it is argued that, as there is no positive ground for ascribing the Catholicon to Gutenberg, and its often-quoted colophon speaks more against than for him, it follows that, if the Catholicon types are not those which Gutenberg left at his death, we must assume that he had succeeded in 1455 in arranging matters with Fust without surrendering the printing apparatus which he then possessed. This assumption, however, seems still more improbable than the others-mentioned above to explain Humery's letter of obligation. Taking all the circumstances detailed above together, it would seem that Humery's good nature and the kindred feeling which evidently existed between Gutenberg and himself, induced him, we know not at what time, to procure some small printing apparatus for the use of Gutenberg. That the latter employed it in some way or another, perhaps in the service of the Archbishop, is not improbable. But the latter appears to have made no efforts to borrow or purchase the apparatus himself, or to retain it on any other condition. And though he put some restrictions on the use or sale by Humery, he showed no anxiety to become its proprietor himself.

J. H. HESSELS.

(To be concluded.)

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

BY those who care for the artistic treatment of psychological problems, a new volume by Paul Bourget, even when it deals with an unpleasant theme, is always welcomed. 'L'envers du décor' shows Bourget's special talent at high, if not at its highest, level. The best of the episodes—for none of the tales are more—is 'Les Moreau-Janville.' It contains a whole gallery of Parisian portraits from Eugène Montrieux, the young tutor whose simple, good-hearted, yet ambitious parents made great sacrifices in order that their son should be 'un jeune homme pauvre avec une sensibilité qui avait besoin de fortune,' to Madame Moreau-Janville, a frivolous 'mondaine,' selfish, sensual, deceiving alike husband, son, and step-daughter, and her husband the self-made rich man of the best type. Eugène Montrieux, intellectual, a word that must not be used as a synonym for intelligent, with 'l'imagination du sentiment,' loves a bright particular star in the person of his pupil's mother, Madame Moreau-Janville. She is woman enough to be faintly amused at his mute adoration, but she is actually the mistress of his friend Calvignac, a former school-fellow at the Lycée Louis le Grand. Calvignac belonged to fashionable Parisian society. His

parents had died while he was young, leaving him a fortune which he soon dissipated. Now deeply in debt, he desired to retrieve his situation by marrying Hélène, the daughter of Moreau-Janville by a former marriage. The girl was in love with him, but her father wished her to form an alliance with a young nobleman, rich, handsome, of irreproachable character, and sincerely in love with Hélène. To aid his designs Calvignac makes use of Eugène as go-between; Eugène, entirely ignorant of Calvignac's relations with Mme. Moreau-Janville, unwillingly consents to carry messages to Hélène. But his young pupil who has accidentally stumbled on his mother's secret, reveals it to Eugène. Bourget unravels this complication in masterly fashion, and the scene between the husband and wife and the daughter is finely conceived and carried out. The character of Moreau-Janville himself is admirably drawn, and is, I think, a truer type of the man of business, of the successful self-made man, than that portrayed by Octave Mirbeau in 'Les affaires sont les affaires.'

'Cet homme supérieur, s'il avait le tempérament plébéien de ses origines, possédait au plus haut degré le sens qui fait les maîtres, celui de responsabilités. Ses ouvriers le savaient bien: les moments où il fallait le redouter davantage n'était pas ceux où la colère gonflait la grosse artère sinueuse que ses cinquante ans passés cordaient sur sa tempe. Il pouvait revenir sur les exécutions prononcées alors, jamais sur d'autres, décidées dans les minutes où, devenu sévèrement et gravement calme, il faisait, à ses propres yeux, fonction de juge. Ce manieur de millions n'avait pas une âme de boursier.

L'argent, pour lui, représentait autre chose que des facilités d'existence. Il y voyait un instrument d'autorité, et l'autorité, c'était sa foi, son culte, sa religion. Ces caractères-là dans certaines crises domestiques, déploient soudain un pouvoir de commander dont on n'oserait pas dire qu'il est auguste ; du moins il ennoblit un peu ce que les querelles familiales ont toujours de sinistre et d'abaissant.'

Moreau-Janville and Madame Montrieux, Eugène's mother, are the only persons in the story who possess 'la vérité profonde du cœur sans décor,' while the other characters have the 'décor sans la vérité profonde du cœur,' Eugène himself standing somewhere between the two, but leaning to the former. The rest of the stories have the distinction of style that belongs to Bourget, but are decidedly of less interest than the one I have attempted to describe.

In 'L'Homme aux papillons,' Théodore Cahu writes charmingly as usual, placing the scene of his divagations in his beloved Beaugency, prefixing a dedication sonnet to the sleepy town which

'Connut mes premiers pas, vit ma première amie.'

There he was born, there he wishes to be buried

'près du mail, où je jouais, enfant,
Sous le granit bleuté, être mis à la terre ;
Simplement, sans discours, sans bruit ; en solitaire.'

The nine sketches in the volume abound in delicate irony and sincere feeling. Léon Chanove, 'l'homme aux papillons,' who is the central figure,

pursues his thoughts and ideas as if they were butterflies—that is to say, he illustrates the curious phenomenon of the ‘extériorisation de l’esprit.’

‘Ces papillons sont à l’infini et de teintes correspondant à leur sujet: papillons noirs pour la tristesse, papillons roses pour la gaieté, papillons d’or pour la gloire Les idées sont ces charmants ailés dont l’espace se peuple à ses yeux seuls.’

Poets receive these thoughts and fertilize them, and then write them down in an original form. Perhaps one of the best of the sketches is where Léon Chanove is present at his own funeral. It certainly served to show him who were really his friends, but he lost the chance of a happy marriage, for ‘je racontai à Hélène que j’avais assisté à mes funérailles et que je l’avais vue pleurer dans la sacristie. Elle me reprocha doucement de l’avoir laissé dans un tel chagrin.’ The confession killed the girl’s love for Chanove, who was forty, while she was only twenty, and he once again became for her merely ‘le vieil ami.’

Gustav Frenssen’s new story, ‘Der Untergang der Anna Hollmann,’ deals with the sending to sea by rich owners of rotten ships. There is a wonderful description of a storm and shipwreck. The sailor hero, ultimately washed ashore, loses consciousness outwardly, but imagines that he, accompanied by two of his companions, walks over the waves in search of those on whom vengeance was due. The mystical atmosphere of this journey, if it can so be called, is marvellously suggested; indeed, while reading those chapters

the illusion was so strong that I thought the man had really died, and that his spirit was wandering over the earth. The author here attains the highest art in making the improbable seem to his readers perfectly probable. That episode serves to raise the book above a tract on the wicked selfishness and avarice of men in general, and rich ship-owners in particular.

In 'Der Bettler von Syrakus,' a tragedy in five acts and a prologue, in blank verse of curious and yet not unpleasing irregularity, Sudermann has produced a moving drama of high quality. Sudermann proves himself owner of a vocabulary richer than that of any of his former writings. There is, too, a sort of brutal reality about his treatment of his theme, in itself as old as the hills—the betrayal of a general by his best friend, that reminds me somewhat of Masefield. But the technique of the play is not as excellent as is usual with his dramas, for until half way through it is very difficult to understand what it is all about. The betrayed man, left for dead, comes back to Syracuse after ten years blind and a beggar, and is able to revenge himself on the traitor who had married his supposed widow, and on his adherents. Philarete had only consented to the marriage to save her children, never, of course, dreaming that Arratos had betrayed her husband. The blind beggar is not recognised, although the people dimly see behind his poverty and misery someone who possesses authority. His wife and children, drawn towards him, dimly suspect the truth. As he falls dying his son asks: 'Who art thou?

Speak! Who art thou?' and his daughter replies: 'Of all the people in the world he can only have been one.' 'Who?' demands her mother, the light beginning to dawn on her; and the daughter, putting her arms round the dead man's neck, replies, sobbing, 'Only one!' The part of the blind beggar offers a fine opportunity to the actor.

It is customary to scoff at Madame de Genlis, to condemn her writings, and to sum up her character in the witticism, '*elle mettait les vices en actes et les vertus en préceptes.*' It has remained for Jean Harmand to tell us the truth about Madame de Genlis in a most interesting volume entitled, '*Madame de Genlis. Sa vie intime et politique 1746-1880 d'après des documents inédits.*' Emile Faguet contributes a preface, in which he says that '*ses "Mémoires" ont dissimulé sa vie, et ses ouvrages ont dissimulé son mérite.*' He thinks the real Madame de Genlis is to be found in the history of her time in the '*grande histoire,*' and the '*petite histoire,*' to both of which she belonged. But her greatest merit, perhaps, for future ages is that she was the inventor of modern education,

'*l'éducation, et littéraire et scientifique, tournée vers le vrai, autant que vers le beau, curieuse de l'histoire, des langues modernes, des choses réelles, de l'étude des plus importantes découvertes récentes, autant que de chefs-d'œuvre littéraires des temps passés et des temps modernes.*'

She advocated an encyclopædic system of instruction, that is, she attempted to lead the child's mind into a number of fresh paths, and to give him an

appetite for everything. She was further a pioneer, or rather an inventor, in that she advocated the same education for girls as for boys; but although she was 'femme très-savante,' she did not exclude from her scheme practical and domestic matters. Her system may be studied in 'Adèle et Théodore,' and in 'Les leçons d'une Gouvernante.' Her methods were largely inspired by Rousseau and Mme. de Maintenon. Education must be adapted to the age of the children, and their physical health must be carefully watched. She was modern, perhaps too modern, in regard to the study of Latin and Greek. She declared it was necessary enough fifty years ago, but now 'celui qui sait parfaitement le français, l'anglais, l'italien, a certainement la connaissance d'une quantité d'ouvrages supérieure ou au moins égale à celle que l'antiquité peut offrir.' Practical work, such as we are accustomed to in the kindergarten, was part of her plan, and she had no opinion of holidays. 'Les vacances,' she said, 'ont perdu plus d'éducatons que le manque d'habileté des maîtres.' Her method of teaching literature was curious. She began with second and third-rate authors, considering such works the best foundation for a lesson in criticism, as it is easier to recognise the faults of a mediocre work than to appreciate the excellences of a great one! Her way of dealing with modern languages was wholly advanced, indeed a method which we are only just beginning to adopt. She was really the first among teachers to see that 'il importe peu de fréquenter les morts si l'on est incapable de parler avec les vivants.' And so in the morning her pupils spoke

German, in the afternoon English, in the evening Italian, with most admirable results we are told, and her pupils were, as all the world knows, the princes and princesses of the House of Orleans. It was, however, a material education, '*une éducation moderniste où le corps avait le pas sur l'esprit.*' Her ideas on the education of girls are equally modern in spirit and in practice—in a word, '*le féminisme raisonnable.*' It would be an interesting and not wholly unprofitable study to trace how very much modern writers on, and advocates of, advanced education for women have borrowed from Madame de Genlis. She declared that women ought to study the laws that govern their land, not because she wished women generally to take part in public life, but because when a woman becomes a widow she '*quitte le rang modeste où la nature et les lois l'avaient placée, pour s'élever au rang des hommes, elle remplace un citoyen, et remplacer un citoyen, c'est devenir citoyen soi-même.*' She advocated the establishment of an '*école rurale,*' a school very much on the lines of our domestic economy schools of to-day. The comprehensiveness of the curriculum, which includes everything from instruction in religion to instruction in doing the family washing, is overwhelming, but its object was neither to manufacture '*femmes savantes, ou précieuses ridicules,*' nor '*des poupées.*' Indeed, Mme. de Genlis' plan of education for girls—a plan, as I said above, which anticipates modern schemes—is

celui d'une femme de bons sens, qui, jetée par la nécessité en pleine lutte pour la vie, et blâmant le désœuvrement,

la vie désoccupée, vide, ignorante, des filles de son siècle et de son monde, et déplorant le temps perdu par celles qui pourraient l'employer à tant d'œuvres utiles, a tenté de leur donner une valeur et de connaissances durables, propres à embellir leur vie et à les consoler toujours quand leur jeunesse se serait en volée.

It is well, sometimes, to remember that the world did not begin with the twentieth century. Much indeed might be learnt from Mme. de Genlis' writings on education. Her other books are of less value, but even those provide entertainment and illuminate the society of her day. Her position as an author, in spite of her 130 volumes, is best summed up, perhaps, by La Harpe, who placed her 'au premier rang des femmes de lettres du second ordre.'

It is quite remarkable how large a place the study of English literature and language occupies in France and Germany. In looking lately through a small parcel of new foreign books, I found not less than seven or eight dealing with the subject.

I should have thought that the last word for French readers and students of Mrs. Browning had been said in the late Mlle. Merlette's big and comprehensive volume. But Mme. W. Nicati, regarding that work as too elaborate for the general public, has produced an interesting little book entitled 'Femme et poète. Elizabeth Barrett Browning,' which gives a more popular account of the poet's life and work. The author ranks 'The Sonnets from the Portuguese' as Mrs. Browning's finest poem, and glorifies it by the phrase 'Le cantique d'amour.' Helene Richter,

in the second volume of her 'Geschichte des englischen Romantik,' deals with 'Die Blüte der englischen Romantik.' She writes of romanticism in science, politics, æsthetics, philosophy, and sociology, devoting a large space to the work of Blake and Burns. The other books deal with English philology, a subject that seems to be chiefly studied on the Continent. André Courmont, in a volume of the 'Bibliothèque de la faculté des lettres' of the University of Paris, entitled 'Studies on Lydgate's syntax in the Temple of Glas, c. 1403,' writes, in excellent English, a purely philological essay of much value. In the 'Studien zur englischen Philologie,' edited by Lorenz Morsbach, we have 'Mittelenglische geistliche und weltliche Lyrik des XIII. Jahrhunderts, nach Motiven und Formen,' by Alexander Müller, a very thorough piece of work in which it is strange to note how very few are the English available sources. 'Humour in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales,' by Wilhelm Ewald, forms the subject of another volume of the same series, in which careful distinction is drawn between the figures in the tales which are subjectively humorous and those that are objectively humorous. Other philological studies are 'Die Alliterien der Formeln der englischen Sprache,' collected by Hans Willert, and 'Syntax des heutigen Englisch,' by Dr. G. Wendt, a veritable scientific treatise, where again the authorities cited are rarely English scholars.

'Belles Lettres' do not occupy a very large place in recent French books. A delightful volume on 'Voiture et les origines de l'Hôtel de Rambouillet,

1597-1635. *Portraits et documents inédits*, is the work of Emile Magne. It is based on unpublished documents, and throws much light on the period.

Ernest Bovet discusses the problem of literary forms and the law of their evolution in '*Lyrisme, Épopée, Drame: Une loi de l'histoire littéraire expliquée par l'évolution générale*.' Bovet verifies his law from the history of French literature, while a counter-proof is provided by the history of Italian literature. It is an interesting theory, well set forth, and most literatures would bear it out in a general way.

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The following recently published books deserve attention:—

Männer und Zeiten. Aufsätze und Reden zur neueren Geschichte. Von Erich Marcks. 2 vols.

Essays and speeches on a number of historical subjects. Those dealing with English history are 'In the England of Elizabeth'; 'The younger Pitt and his time'; 'Germany and England in the great European Crises from the time of the Reformation'; 'The homogeneity of England's foreign policy from 1500 to the present time.'

Briefwechsel zwischen König Johann von Sachsen und den Königen Friedrich Wilhelm IV. und Wilhelm I. von Preussen. Herausgegeben von Johann Georg, Herzog von Sachsen, unter Mitwirkung von Hubert Ermisch.

The correspondence covers the years 1825-93, and furnishes interesting material for history.

Standhaft und treu. Karl von Roeder und seine Brüder in Preussens Kämpfen von 1806-15.

The Roeder family played an important part in the history of Prussia; they did not strive after glory, but worked and fought for their country. The book is based on a manuscript autobiography left by Karl von Roeder.

Napoleon I. sein Leben und seine Zeit. Band I. Von Friedrich M. Kircheisen.

Kircheisen is the greatest authority in Germany on Napoleon. For ten years he has been making the researches necessary for this work, which claims to be an impartial biography based on original sources. It will run to eight or ten volumes, and is fully illustrated.

Biedermeier Deutschland. 1815-47. Von Max von Boehn.

A delightfully illustrated and brightly written history of social life in Germany during the first half of the nineteenth century, and a valuable contribution to social history. The illustrations are numerous and excellent.

Die Schwabische Litteratur im 18ten und 19ten Jahrhundert. Ein historischer Rückblick. Von Hermann Fischer.

A useful survey which reveals how many of the great German men of letters of the period dealt with belong to Swabia.

Le Théâtre d'aujourd'hui. Première série. Par Antoine Benoist.

Interesting criticism on such contemporary dramatists as Donnay, Hervieu, Lavedan, Brieux, and Lemaître.

Charles Collé. *Journal historique inédit pour les années 1761 et 1762*, publié sur le manuscrit original et annoté. Par Ad. Van Bever, avec la collaboration de G. Boissy.

Two of the lost volumes of one of the most curious documents of the eighteenth century. With this help we are able to reconstruct the literary life of those years in France.

Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim. *Gesammelt und herausgegeben von Johannes Joachim und Andreas Moser. Band I.*

There will be three volumes in all. In this instalment are letters from and to Robert and Clara Schumann, Berlioz and Liszt, Gisela von Arnim, who afterwards married Hermann Grimm. Joachim was in close relation with all the great composers and musicians of his time, and thus these letters contain material for a history of music during the nineteenth century.

Kleine Schriften von Adolf Furtwängler. *Herausgegeben von Johannes Sieveking und Ludwig Curtius. Erster Band.*

An addition to the literature of classical art and archæology, and also a memorial to Furtwängler. There are to be two more volumes.

Hellenika. Eine Auswahl philologischer und philosophie geschientlicher kleiner Schriften. Von Theodor Gomperz. *Erster Band.*

A collection of essays dedicated to the Universities of Königsberg, Dublin, and Cambridge. They deal chiefly with Greek poetry, criticised both from the literary and philological sides.

Geist und Glaube. Von Friedrich Naumann.

Essays and lectures on such subjects as 'Faith and Progress,' 'Faith and Personality,' 'Faith and Government.' Naumann believes that liberalism in religion is a better thing than scepticism. He writes an admirable style, deep conviction and earnest sincerity underlying his arguments.

ELIZABETH LEE.

THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS AND THE STATIONERS' COMPANY.

THE references to the disputes between the Oxford University Press and the Stationers' Company about 1680 are so obscure that it is difficult to arrive at the real sequence of events. Some of the accounts seem to point to the printing of the Bible as the origin of the trouble; the following abstract of a Chancery suit shows that the trouble was far-reaching and concerned with at least one hundred and fifty books.

According to Dr. Wallis's 'Account of Printing in Oxford,' written in 1691, and printed at p. 217 of Derham's 'Philosophical Experiments . . . of Dr. Robert Hooke,' London, 1726, Archbishop Laud was instrumental in causing an agreement to be drawn up between the University and the Stationers' Company on behalf of the Company, the King's Printer, and Norton, whereby among other things the University agreed to cease printing certain books. The agreement was to hold good for three years, and was to be renewed for subsequent periods of three years each, the Company agreeing to pay the University a yearly rent of £200.

This state of affairs went on until the outbreak of the Civil War, when the Company refused to renew the agreement. The University then gave leave to their printers, Lichfield and Hall, to print the books in dispute, thus forcing the Company to negotiate. This they did. Pleading poverty, they were admitted to a new agreement at a yearly rental of £120.

The new arrangement does not seem to have been satisfactory to either party, for we find the Company printing Bibles and Psalms very cheaply, and selling them for next to nothing (*circa* 1676), in the endeavour to ruin the University and so maintain their own monopoly. In order to cope with this move of the Company, Bishop Fell and Dr. Yate, representing the University, brought in some London booksellers (*circa* 1678), first of all Moses Pitt, and later Thomas Guy and Peter Parker. The Company harassed the University after this by suits in Chancery, Common Law, and Writs of Quo Warranto, but with very little success. This was the state of affairs when the following Bill of Complaint, which has not hitherto been printed, was filed in Chancery on 7th December, 1688.

The Bill sets forth that 'your Orators the Masters and Keepers or Wardens and Commonalty of the Art or Mystery of Stationers of the City of London shew that diverse debates and controversies being had and depending by and between your orators and the Chancellor Masters and Scholars of the University of Oxford touching the right of printing diverse books, in the schedule hereunto

annexed mentioned, by reason of several Letters Patent formerly granted unto your orators or their predecessors and to the University; the University affirming and insisting that they had and still have a right to the sole printing or comprinting of the books in the said schedule specified and also a right of using and employing certain numbers of printers and printing presses within the University of Oxford exclusive of all others; a treaty being had for accommodating of the said differences the University, by an indenture made 30 September in the first year of the reign of the King's Majesty that now is (James II.) with your orators, did agree that they should not for three years print or cause or permit to be imprinted or comprinted in the said University of Oxford or elsewhere any book mentioned in the schedule and that your orators were to have the sole right of doing so, "the large Sheete Almanack upon the Rolling press as formerly used to bee printed in the said University only excepted" provided always that this restraint of printing and comprinting should be understood to be of books as they were usually printed by your said orators but not to extend to Classical Authors when illustrated by new annotations or various readings or printed in forms and with letters not for the use of schools. Your orators promised to pay to the University a yearly sum of £160 for the three years, to be paid quarterly at the Theatre in Oxford also they agreed to sell and deliver to the University at Stationers Hall in London such numbers of Psalms in metre in such sort or sizes, etc., as they should desire. The

request for such to be in writing under the hand of the Right Reverend Father in God, John, then Lord Bishop of Oxford or the Vice-Chancellor of the University. These were to be sold to them at the same terms, rates, and price as to the King's Printer; twelve months notice, to be accounted from the time of making such request, to be given your orators, or any two of them, to provide Psalms of Pearl letter and three months to provide Psalms of any other letter. The price of any so ordered to be taken out of the £160, and if your orators should not deliver by specified time it should be lawful for the University to print what they needed. Your orators relying on the agreement made suitable provision for meeting the demand by laying in a large stock of materials and retaining great numbers of workmen and have ever since printed Psalms of all sorts and sizes and other books sufficient for the whole kingdom.'

'It may please your Lordship that the University having afterward deputed one Thomas Guy and Peter Parker as printers to the University at a yearly rent, the said Guy and Parker being covetous have confederated with [? Robert] Eliot and Francis Duffield of Oxford together with other persons whose names are unknown to your orators and under pretence of being printers, deputies, and assigns have for several months past printed or caused to be printed many hundred thousand of Psalms in metre in several volumes and sorts of letters and other Psalms, Psalters, Almanacks, and other of the books mentioned in the said schedule and have prevailed upon the University

to approve of their doing so. In order to lend color to this unjust dealing they give out that your orators have not paid the yearly rent of £160 and that the Vice Chancellor had demanded Psalms in metre and that your orators had not provided the same and so they were at liberty to print them. In answer to this contention your orators say that the Vice-Chancellor did not give the required notice and if the notice were given the Psalms were delivered, or if any parts were not delivered it was by reason of wet weather or some other casualty or accident that the same could not be gotten dry and fit to be delivered. Nevertheless your orators being desirous to accommodate differences were willing to waive that point and pay the University the sum of £240 being due under the agreement up till Michaelmas last and to accept from the University another agreement for a further period of three years. Accordingly on 16 November last Randall Taylor and others on behalf of the Company tendered to Doctor Ironside then Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Wallis, and Dr. Fallon, members of the University authorized to transact the business on behalf of the University, £240 and also a fine of £10, as well as a new agreement prepared under the Common Seal of the Company. The University refused to accept the money and insisted that they were not obliged to renew the agreement at all, following on this they have brought an action at Common Law against your orators for arrears of rent. Your orators witnesses being either dead or beyond the seas, makes it impossible for a defence to be entered into at common

law so they pray for *subpæna* against the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars, Guy, Parker, Eliot, and Duffield, the number of books printed to be ascertained, whether printed in twelve or twenty-fours, in pearl letter or other kinds of type. They pray also that the University may be compelled to adhere to their promise to renew the agreement, and claim an injunction meanwhile.'

An extensive search has failed to produce the answer to this Bill of Complaint, but some idea of the main lines of the Answer, which must have been put forth by the University, may be found in some letters (*ca.* 1679-80) from Drs. Fell and Wallis to Archbishop Sancroft. They are well known, and are printed in 'Collectanea Curiosa,' by John Gutch. Oxford, 1781. Vol. i., 269 *et seq.* It is there stated that in the year 1672, some members of the University of Oxford, namely: John, Bishop of Oxford, Sir Leoline Jenkins, Sir Joseph Williamson, and Dr. Thomas Yates, associated themselves together, and at an expense of above £4,000, furnished a printing establishment from Germany, France, and Holland. They had already printed several works in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, as well as many in English, and had then in the press several important books.

However, they found it necessary to engage Mr. Moses Pitt and some other London booksellers about eighteen months ago. This partnership was so successful that they had reduced the price of Quarto Bibles with Common Prayer, Psalms, and Apocrypha, from 13s. 4d. to 5s. 9d. (5s. 6d. elsewhere); and Octavos from 8s. 8d. to 4s. 2d. This

had so incensed the King's Printers that they had cited the University and its partners to appear before the Privy Council on the plea that an infringement of some orders of that board, made in 1628 and 1629, had taken place.—Here follows a brief account of the history of printing in Oxford, in which Corsellis is mentioned, and it is asserted that several books printed by him were extant.—The King's Printers have had little regard to the letter, or paper, or correctness of what they printed, the bibles which the King's Printers have sold being generally imported from Holland. When the theatre was finished the King's Printers refused to pay the usual rent to the University for their forbearance of comprinting; bibles of all forms were then printed at Oxford. As a result of the University's action, prices fell rapidly. Bibles in folio formerly £6 fell to 30s.; bibles in 4to, 13s. 4d. to 5s. 6d.; 8vo, 6s. to 2s. 8d.; 12mo, 3s. to 1s. 4d. Testaments which had been sold for 1s. were sold for 5d. So in Common Prayer books. Folios, 8s. to 4s. 6d.; 8vo, 1s. 6d. to 10d.; 12mo, 1s. 4d. to 5d. Books of Homilies from 6s. 8d. to 3s. 6d. The King's printers have preferred a Bill in Chancery against the University who think that the Government may think it worth public consideration, for if this design of monopolizing bibles and liturgies takes place, great mischief will ensue.

Another remarkable document is a letter from Dr. Wallis to Archbishop Sancroft dated 15th April, 1684, in which he states:—that the University had a right by prescription to publish books (lawful to be published) or multiply copies by, writing,

by the *Scriptores* and *Illuminatores* of the University, before the invention of printing, without restraint; these *Scriptores* and *Illuminatores* being owned as members of the University, '*eo nomine*,' and being so acknowledged by a settlement in Parliament, 18 Edw. I.

The University had thus a right by usage, and usage gives a right at common law, which was confirmed by Act of Parliament in 13 Eliz. The University have also two Charters of 8 Charles I. whereby they are authorized to print and vend '*omnimodos libros publice non prohibitos, editos vel edendos*,' any statute, act, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restriction to the contrary notwithstanding.

In 11 Charles I. another charter was granted in which some doubts then suggested, as to whether '*libri publici prohibiti*' did not extend to such as were by Patent restrained to the Stationers, King's Printers, and the like, which, as was pretended, were thereby prohibited to all. The charter expressly declares that the University may print and sell all books so privileged. The Stationers, Mr. Norton, and the King's Printers, have acknowledged this right by Indenture of 20th March, 1636, for three years, whereby they agree to pay in their several proportions £200 a year to the University, to forbear the printing of those privileged books. He recites other indentures, and mentions that the University supplied the press to accompany the King and his army during the Civil War, also that there is owing from his majesty to Lichfield, the then printer of the University, above £600.

After the wars they continued to print the privileged books, but soon made another agreement. After the Restoration they renewed the agreement. When the agreement expired in 1669, the King's printers refused to pay their proportion of the rent, although the Stationers' and Mr. Norton were willing to pay theirs. The University after a few years began to print bibles, and when in 1679 a petition was brought against them before the Privy Council, the University and the Printers were acquitted and the petition cast out.

The above would probably form the basis of an answer, while the last paragraph gives us the result of the suit. It is not difficult to imagine why the Stationers presented a Bill in Chancery. With great resources at their command injunctions could be obtained and various devices used to delay the consideration of the case. Rivals who reduced prices to less than one-half were to be prevented at almost any cost.¹ Unhappily for the Stationers' Company, the Revolution was at hand. When things resumed their normal course the Lord High Chancellor, Baron Jeffreys, had—like his sovereign—fled.

¹ According to a notice appearing in the 'Daily Courant' of Tuesday, 7th December, 1714, the Company of Stationers have had granted to them by various Kings and Queens the sole right of printing, publishing, and selling all primers, psalters, and psalms, church catechism, school books and others, prognostications and almanacks. A catalogue of these books may be had gratis at Stationers' Hall. Several printers, booksellers, and haberdashers, have infringed their monopoly and are now under prosecution in the High Court of Chancery. This notice is intended to warn any others who commit breaches of the Letters Patent.

The list of books mentioned in the Chancery suit contains books on law, history, theology, editions of nearly all the classics, Latin and Greek, several bi-lingual texts, Latin-Greek, and Latin-English, all almanacs, prognostications, psalms in metre, psalters, primers, the A.B.C., the Child's Guide, and Horn Book prints.

The first book mentioned on the list is 'Thomas à Kempis de Imitatione Christi Lat:,' which does not appear to have been printed in Latin at Oxford during the period. An English edition also on the list of privileged books was printed by Leonard Lichfield for E. Forest at Oxford in 1639. A series well worth noting occurs, each mentioned as a different book. 'Republica (sic) Romana,' 'Angliae,' 'Scocie et Hiberniae,' 'Italiae,' 'Galliae,' 'Poloniae,' 'Helvetiae,' 'Turciae,' 'Moscoviae,' 'Russia,' 'Belgij,' 'Hollandiae.' The word 'Republica' should be understood before each. There are serious doubts as to whether some of these books mentioned ever were printed by the University. For instance 'Seuen Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne,' by William Hunnis, is one of the books on the list, yet there are only two editions in the British Museum library, 1583 and 1587. These both have music. They are printed by Henry Denham. The B.M. catalogue has been searched for several of the books mentioned in the suit with no success.

R. L. STEELE.

THE LIBRARY.


MARTIN MARPRELATE AND
SHAKESPEARE'S FLUELLEN.

A NEW THEORY OF THE AUTHORSHIP
OF THE MARPRELATE TRACTS.

‘I’ll tell you there is good men porn at Monmouth.’
—Fluellen.

‘Given at my castle between two Wales’ . . .
—Martin’s ‘Epistle.’

I.

HE Marprelate tracts are seven in number, if we include the broadside commonly known as ‘The Minerals.’ The first two, ‘The Epistle’ and ‘Epitome,’ were in preparation in May, 1588,¹ but ‘The Epistle’ was not printed till about 15th October, while its sequel followed at the end of the next month. Meanwhile Waldegrave, the printer, in fear of detection, was forced to move his press about from place to place, with the

¹ ‘THE LIBRARY,’ Second Series, X., 232.

assistance of the Welsh puritan reformer John Penry. At the beginning of February, 1589, he was lurking at Coventry, whence he issued, about the 20th, the broadside mentioned above, and just over a month later 'Hay any worke for Cooper,' the third of the tracts proper. Directly this was finished, he began to make preparations for leaving Coventry, and meeting one Sharpe, the bookbinder, afterwards the chief informer of the Martinist circle, he told him that he intended to go down into Devonshire to print Cartwright's answer to the Rhemish 'Testament,' for the copy of which he had long been waiting. Presumably, therefore, he went to Devonshire at the end of March. Sharpe informs us next that 'about May day' he met Penry, who told him that 'Waldegrave was surely in hand in some corner with the printing of Master Cartwright's "Testament," that he looked daily for his "Appellation" from him, and that then he should go in hand with "More work for Cooper."'¹ Penry's reference to the last work shows that Waldegrave was still regarded as the Marprelate printer. He had taken with him, moreover, 'the Dutch letters' in which the first three 'Martins' had been printed. The next news we have of him is that he has gone to Rochelle. This Penry tells Sharpe in the second week of May. It was now necessary to obtain the services of a printer to take the place of Waldegrave, whom the Martinists appear to have looked upon henceforth in the light of a deserter.

¹ Arber, 'Introductory Sketch,' p. 100.

Towards the end of May one Hodgkins was engaged, but it is remarkable that though he had type and two presses to work with, nothing was done for two months after his engagement. It was, in fact, not until 22nd July that the next Martinist tract, known as 'Martin Junior,' appeared, and it was followed a week later by 'Martin Senior.' These publications were issued from Wolston near Coventry, and immediately afterwards Hodgkins moved to Manchester with the copy of 'More worke for Cooper,' where, on 14th August, he was captured by the authorities. This disaster silenced the Martinists for a time, and 'The Protestation,' the seventh and last of the series, did not appear until about the end of September.

It is necessary to remind ourselves of these elementary facts concerning the publication of the famous Marprelate tracts, if we are to understand the drift of the argument that follows. Of the authorship of the tracts we know nothing. At present there are two candidates for the honour—John Penry, who was chief director of the press and its movements from beginning to end; and Job Throckmorton, who appears upon the scene about the same time as Hodgkins, and takes an active interest in the production of 'Martin Junior,' 'Martin Senior,' and 'The Protestation.' I think it likely, as I shall show later, that both these men had a hand in writing the last three tracts; but I am convinced that neither was responsible for the first three—that is to say, 'The Epistle,' 'The Epitome,' and 'Hay any worke.' In other words, 'Martin Marprelate, gentleman,' is some third

person whom it is our business to discover. There are strong grounds for refusing to identify either Penry or Throckmorton with Martin himself. Most students of the tracts and of Penry's acknowledged work have long ago put him out of court for reasons of style. And we have it, on the authority of his intimate friend John Udall, that soon after 'The Epistle' was published, Penry 'wrote a letter to a friend in London, wherein he did deny it (*i.e.*, the authorship) with such terms as declare him to be ignorant and clear in it.'¹ Throckmorton, therefore, has hitherto been the favourite both with some Elizabethan and most modern students of the business. His behaviour was highly suspicious, and his style not very unlike Martin's. Yet in his case, too, we are met, as Martin himself would put it, 'with a flat *non plus*' in the oath which he offered to take in court 'that I am not Martin, I knew not Martin, and concerning what I stand indicted of, I am as clear as the child unborn.'² Furthermore, in spite of the evidence which we have against him, the authorities of the day left him unmolested; he appears to have been openly acquitted by a judge who investigated his case at Warwick; and Burghley himself, according to Throckmorton's own account, stated in Parliament 'that he knew the said Job Throckmorton to be an honest man.'²

Emptying our minds, therefore, of all preconceived theories about their authorship, let us take the tracts in our hands—as we may easily do now,

¹ Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

² 'Defence of Job Throckmorton,' sig. Eii.

thanks to Mr. Pierce's edition (James Clarke and Co., 1911)—and see if they can tell us anything about the man or men who wrote them. We have already noticed the four months of silence which elapsed between 'Hay any worke' (23rd March) and 'Martin Junior' (22nd July). This curious gap divides the series into two groups. But the division is not merely one of time. When the ball is set rolling again it is ostensibly two new writers who take up the pen—writers who call themselves the 'sons' of Martin Marprelate, and conceal their identity behind the pseudonyms, Martin Junior, Martin Senior. Still more interesting is it to observe that 'Martin Junior,' the earliest tract of the second group, contains a number of 'theses' which Martin Junior gives to the world in the condition in which he received them, declaring that they were 'set down and collected by that famous and renowned clerk, the reverend Martin Marprelate the great.' The said theses are curiously fragmentary and abrupt; many break off in the middle of the sentence, and of the last the only words given are 'That these prelates . . . ' upon which Martin Junior comments: 'Here he left his writings unperfite and thus perfite begins the son.' All this, of course, is no new discovery. Nobody who reads the tracts can avoid noticing it. But hitherto it has been lightly passed over, as part of the Marprelate game, as a new device of Martin's to catch the ear of the public. Yet is it really nothing but 'flim flam'? Mr. Pierce for one sees in these broken sentences 'a loop-hole through which we may escape from all our

conjectures, and imagine some great and still unknown English reformer as the writer of the Marprelate tracts.’¹ What if the peculiar features of ‘Martin Junior’ and ‘Martin Senior,’ which we have hitherto taken as jokes, are really clues—clues to the identity of Martin himself? It is at least worth while following them out and seeing whither they lead us.

Assuming then that things are what they seem—that Martin Marprelate is one man, and Martin Junior and Senior two others, that the first has somehow disappeared, and that the others are attempting to carry on the campaign against the bishops with the help of such fragments as he had left behind—we have next to enquire how Martin Marprelate’s ‘unperfite papers’ came into his ‘sons’ hands, and why, having kept silence for four months, he himself seems incapable of providing any more copy for the press. But we must walk warily. Here, for example, is a pitfall into which we might grievously stumble had we not fortunately the evidence of the captured printers to warn us off. ‘If you demand of me,’ writes Martin Junior, ‘where I found this [*i.e.*, the manuscript of the theses], the truth is, it was taken up (together with other papers) besides a bush, where it had dropped from somebody passing by that way.’² This pretty little mystery is cleared up for us by John Hodgkins, the printer, in his examination after the arrest. Having related how he went by appointment to Throckmorton’s house at Hasely, where he met Penry, he continues, ‘The next morning,

¹ Pierce, ‘The Marprelate Tracts,’ p. 289. ² ‘Tracts,’ p. 324.

taking leave of the said Throckmorton, Mr. Penry would needs bring him on his way ; where, as they were walking towards Warwick, they found in the path, within a bolt-shot of the house, a great part of the said theses, which the said Hodgkins took up and printed.'¹ This is one of the characteristic Martinist tricks. The paper had, of course, been carefully put there first by Penry, who then led Hodgkins to the spot. The point was that the latter, if caught, could lie with a clear conscience. He could deny that he had received the paper at the hands of any man, and thus his employers' names could be kept out of the business. But printer and employers had reckoned without the rack, and it is to the rack that we owe the above confession. The 'sons of Martin,' therefore, like boys on a paper-chase, were laying a false trail for the pursuivants of the archbishop, when they placed these papers 'besides a bush' in the path to Warwick, and it is idle for us to follow it up. The tracts 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior,' however, are full of other clues which have a more promising appearance.

Both tracts are addressed as much to Martin himself as to the general public. They repeatedly complain that Martin's sons 'cannot hear from their father,' that 'he hath been tongue-tied these four or five months,' that they do not know where he is, that 'he keepeth himself secret from his sons,' that they are even 'ignorant if he be living or dead.'² Martin Marprelate has vanished off

¹ Pierce, 'Historical Introductions,' p. 333.

² 'Tracts,' pp. 322, 323, 361, etc.

the face of the earth, and his associates, burning to carry on the campaign against the bishops which he had set on foot, are appealing to their lost master to show himself once more to the people. They are not, however, without definite fears as to what may have happened to him. Martin Junior exhorts his father, if he 'have escaped out of the danger of gunshot,' to 'begin again to play the man'; he declares that some 'give out that in the service of his country and her Majesty's he died or was in great danger at the Groine'; and Martin Senior, upbraiding his brother for publishing the theses, asks him, 'If my father should be hurt either at the Groine or at the suburbs of Lisbon, is this the way either to cure him or to comfort him?'¹ Besides these there are several other references to the expedition to Portugal, and the writers are constantly harping upon the haunting suspicion that Martin Marprelate has been slain in battle.² The expedition in question, as we shall presently see, sailed from Plymouth on 18th April, and returned to England on 1st July. If Martin took part in it, we can well understand why he remained 'tongue-tied for four or five months,' or in other words, why no Marprelate tracts appeared between 23rd March and 22nd July. But how could the 'unperfit papers' have reached the hands of the young Martins, when they could hear nothing of their father? The fleet arrives on 1st July. Hodgkins goes to Throckmorton's house about 15th July. 'Martin Junior,' which contains the fragmentary

¹ 'Tracts,' pp. 323, 351.

² *Ibid.* pp. 359, 380, *et passim*.

theses, appears on 22nd July. The irresistible conclusion is that Martin had either come with the fleet, and was now in hiding, or had sent his papers by some messenger, with orders that they should be conveyed to Penry. The papers certainly came over sea. Martin Junior as good as tells us so in the following remarkable passage: 'It would have pitied your heart to see how the poor papers were rain and weather beaten, even truly in such a sort as they could scant be read to be printed. There was never a dry thread in them. These sea-journeys are pitiful I perceive.'¹ Martin Senior also refers to his father's 'scrabbled and weather-beaten papers,' while the writer who was responsible for the second part of 'The Protestation' concludes his account of 'The Epistle' to 'More worke,' which was captured with the printers, as follows: 'with these and such like points, with an honourable mention of all noble soldiers, a complaint of the loss of my papers, and the misery of sea-journeys, I ended my 'Pistle, being the first tome of "More worke for the Cooper."' ²

The reference to 'noble soldiers' leads us into the last passage from the tracts which need be considered at this juncture. It is to my mind the most important clue of all, though at first it seemed to me quite incomprehensible. Martin Senior, in the course of a disquisition upon the lordly retinue of the archbishop, which as he states comprised 'seven score horse,' says to his brother Martin

¹ 'Tracts,' p. 334.

² *Ibid.* p. 416.

Junior, 'It may be thou wilt say thy father is every day in the week able to make as many men of his own charges; I would he were not'; and then, as if he feared he had said too much, he hastily adds, 'If he be, it is more than I know, I promise thee; and I think more than thou canst prove.'¹ If these words mean anything, they imply that Martin Marprelate could command a larger retinue than the archbishop himself, which in itself is an interesting discovery enough. But the most curious point of the passage is to be found in the words: 'I would he were not.' Does Martin Senior regret that his father is a powerful and influential personage? It would be absurd to suppose it. No: the meaning clearly is that Martin's retinue is a regiment or an army—that he is, in short, a superior officer or a general; and Martin Senior, who fears that his father may be slain, is lamenting the fact that Martin's profession as a military leader should oblige him to risk his life and therefore his cause. Martin, we are beginning to see, was a person of some importance; he was no mere common soldier or recruit, but an officer and probably a gentleman.

One more point must be noticed before we leave the Martinist side of the evidence. Waldegrave, it will be remembered, went down to Devonshire at the end of March, just before the fleet left Plymouth. By the middle of May he was already in Rochelle. Did Martin take him there on his way to Portugal? Once again the con-

¹ Pierce, 'Tracts,' p. 361.

clusion seems irresistible. Our plot is certainly beginning to thicken.

II.

It is time that we should consider this Portuguese expedition more closely. 1588, the year which saw the launching of Martin's little fleet of paper boats against the bishops, saw also Philip's armada of unwieldy galleons sailing against a bastard queen and a heretic England; and before the winds of God had scattered the last of the Spanish ships, Drake and Norris were fitting out a counter-armada for the Peninsula. The ostensible object of the expedition was the restoration of Don Antonio to the throne of Portugal. He accompanied the fleet, and it was hoped that the Portuguese would rise in his favour against Philip. A land campaign was, therefore, part of the scheme. About 7,000 troops were embarked for the purpose, and Sir Roger Williams, the best English soldier of the day, was appointed third in command after Drake and Norris, with the understanding that he would take charge of the military operations. Elizabeth behaved in her usual temporising and niggardly fashion; the supplies of men and provisions were inadequate; the start, originally fixed for 1st February, was put off from week to week. At length, on 18th April, after waiting in Plymouth over a month for a favourable wind, the fleet put out to sea, and within six days reached Corunna (the Groine) on 23rd April, without touching at any

intermediate port. Here the army was landed and an assault was directed against the city. But though the lower town was carried, the upper town remained impregnable, and after an indecisive battle with a relieving Spanish force, the generals on 8th May thought it best to put their men on board again and try their fortune at another point of the coast. Hitherto Sir Roger Williams had taken no part in the expedition. In company with the Earl of Essex, he had sailed separately from England in his ship, the 'Swiftsure,' and about 20th May he joined the fleet, giving out that he had long been searching for it without success. The English now attacked Peniche, from whence they intended to march upon Lisbon. On 23rd May the troops were again landed, Sir Roger Williams taking command. The castle of Peniche was captured, and on 25th May the English arrived before Lisbon. The suburbs were soon in their hands, but, as at Corunna, the fortified city itself remained unassailable, and since the people of the country did not rise to support Don Antonio, as was expected, the invaders were forced reluctantly to put out to sea once again, about 6th June. The expedition, though ending in no such disaster as had met the Spanish Armada in 1588, was as much of a failure. After a little more perfunctory singeing of the King of Spain's beard at Vigo and other places, the fleet set sail for England, which it reached on 1st July.

Waldegrave, as we saw, was in Rochelle before the middle of May. It is therefore impossible for him to have sailed with the main fleet, which

proceeded straight from England to Corunna without a stop. Yet Martin, if we are to believe his sons, took part in the expedition, and Martin, if he had the means, was obviously the right person to convey the printer to the Huguenot city of refuge, where he would be out of reach of Whitgift's long arm. The only ship belonging to the fleet which did not sail direct to Corunna was the 'Swiftsure.' Leaving England about the same time as Drake and Norris, it was more than a month on the high seas before it fell in with them. Why did it not put out with the other ships in the first place? and what was it doing between 18th April and 20th May? To answer these questions, it is necessary to say something of the careers and persons of its two illustrious passengers, Sir Roger Williams and the Earl of Essex.

Born in 1567, the Earl of Essex was a young man of twenty-two at the time of the expedition to Portugal, but he was already the chief favourite of Queen Elizabeth. Leicester, his step-father, introduced the handsome youth to court in 1584, with the intention of making him his successor in the queen's favour. But Essex, while realising his interest in flattering and making love to the ageing Elizabeth, had a full measure of the Elizabethan lust for action and glory. It was natural, therefore, that he should delight in the company of Sir Roger Williams, a man some thirty years his senior, the hero of a dozen sieges and battles, the bravest and most dashing soldier of the day. Williams, too, was a person of quaint and ready wit, of an

amusingly pedantic turn of mind, and withal of sterling honesty of purpose. The son of Thomas Williams of Penrhôs, Monmouthshire, he also no doubt attracted Essex as a Welshman, for the favourite residence of the young nobleman was his house at Llanfey in Pembrokeshire, where in 1583-4 he had spent two of the happiest years of his life.¹ The two men had probably first struck up an acquaintance in the Netherlands, where both served under Leicester in the campaign of 1585-6, and had received knighthood from their commander's hands for conspicuous valour in the field. Leicester indeed could hardly speak too highly of Williams at this time. 'Roger Williams,' he writes to Walsingham, 6th October, 1586, 'is worth his weight in gold, for he is no more valiant than he is wise, and of judgment to govern his doings.'² At the end of 1586 Essex returned to England, but the Welsh knight remained in the field, distinguishing himself especially in the defence of Sluys, until its fall on 30th June, 1587. Hearing of his friend's predicament, Essex had attempted to escape from Court to the Netherlands, but was caught by the Queen's orders and brought back again. Williams, however, was now sent to London by Leicester with the news of the fall of Sluys, and with a letter of special recom-

¹ W. B. Devereux, 'Lives of the Earls of Essex,' i., pp. 171-2. Essex's steward at this time, as Dr. McKerrow has pointed out to me, was another Welshman, Sir Gilly Meyrick, who was, in 1601, hanged for his share in the performance of Shakespeare's 'Richard II.' Anthony Wood states that he was Williams' 'kinsman.'

² 'Diët. Nat. Biog.,' Williams.

mendation. He remained in England, and was next year made master of the horse under Leicester, to whom the command of the troops, mobilised to resist the Spanish invasion, was entrusted. At this time, however, we find Leicester complaining on one occasion that Williams was frequently absenting himself from his duties without leave.¹ When all danger from the Armada was passed, Williams went to the Netherlands once again, in the train of Sir John Norris; but he was only there a month, since Norris arrived about 9th October, and on 10th November despatched Williams to England with a letter to Walsingham.² After this we have no reason for thinking that Williams left London again for several months. The expedition to Portugal was now in preparation, and he received his appointment as third in command. Yet here again there was an apparent neglect of duty. Instead of going down to Plymouth with Drake and Norris to see after the men and the fleet, he remained at the capital, seeing no doubt a good deal of his young friend, Essex.

And then follows the remarkable story of the 'Swiftsure,' a story which no historian has been able properly to explain. Essex was on fire to go to Portugal, but Elizabeth would not hear of it. He was now necessary to her happiness: 'When she is abroad nobody near her but my Lo. of Essex: and at night, my Lord is at cards, or one

¹ 'Dict. of Nat. Biog.,' *op. cit.*

² Bertie, 'Five Generations of a Loyal House,' i., pp. 224-6, 233. The account given in the 'Dict. of Nat. Biog.' of Williams' movements at the end of 1588 and during 1589 is very misleading. There is no mention, for example, of the Portuguese expedition.

game or another with her, that he cometh not to his own lodging till birds' sing in the morning,' as a contemporary letter-writer expresses it.¹ A man of Essex's temper might well grow tired of such a life, and he determined to try once again to escape from his aged Circe. On 3rd April he and Williams made a dash for the fleet, covering on horseback more than two hundred and twenty miles in less than thirty-six hours. When they reached Plymouth the wind was blowing straight into port, but Essex declared 'that he would not stay two hours in Plymouth, howsoever the wind was.' Accordingly the 'Swiftsure,' the ship which had been assigned to Williams, put out to sea, and was lost sight of for the next five weeks! Elizabeth meanwhile was in a fury. Personages of no less importance than Sir Francis Knollys and Lord Huntingdon were sent, one after the other, post-haste to Plymouth, to find out what they could of the truants' whereabouts. They returned with empty hands. Angry letters were sent to Drake and Norris, to which they replied that they were as ignorant and innocent as the rest.² Nothing could be heard of either Williams or Essex; they appeared to have vanished into thin air. Some time afterwards the queen learnt that the 'Swiftsure,' instead of putting right out to sea, as everyone supposed, had turned into Falmouth, where it remained quietly for some ten days, eventually leaving England about the same date as the rest of the fleet, but not coming up with it, as we have seen, until a month later. Still without news of

¹ Devereux, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 195-8.

the missing ship, except that it had been at Fal-mouth, and supposing that it had found the fleet, Elizabeth, on 4th May, drafted the following extraordinary letter to Drake and Norris :

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Although we doubt not but of yourselves you have so thoroughly weighed the heinousness of the offence lately committed by Roger Williams that you have both discharged him from the place and charge which was appointed him in that army, and committed the same to some other meet person (as we doubt not but you have choice of as sufficient as he is), and that you have also laid punishment upon him according to his desert; yet we would not but you should also know from ourself, by these our special letters, our just wrath and indignation against him, and lay before you his intolerable contempt against ourself, and the authority you have from us, in that he forsook the army, and conveyed away also one of our principal ships from the rest of the fleet. In which points his offence is in so high a degree, that the same deserveth by all laws to be punished by death, which if you have not already done (and whereunto we know your authority as General doth warrant you), then we will and command you that you sequester him from all charge and service, and cause him to be safely kept, so as he slip not away until you shall know our further pleasure therein, as you will answer for the contrary at your perils; for as we have authority to rule, so we look to be obeyed, and to have obedience directly and surely continued unto us, and so look to be answered herein at your hands. Otherwise we will think you unworthy of the authority you have, and that you know not how to use it. In the mean time we have also found it strange, that, before your departing from Plymouth, you should either be so careless, or suffer yourselves so easily to be abused, that any of our ships, much more a principal ship, should be

in such manner conveyed away from the rest of the fleet, and afterwards, also being so near as Falmouth (as we understood) should not by your commandment and direction be stayed; a matter which we cannot but remember unto you, and yet we do hope that you are no partakers of the offence which is committed.

And if Essex be now come into the company of the fleet, we straightly charge you that, all dilatory excuse set apart, you do forthwith cause him to be sent hither in safe manner; which if you do not, you shall look to answer for the same to your smart, for these be no childish actions, nor matters wherein you are to deal by cunning of devises, to seek evasions, as the customs of lawyers is; neither will we be so satisfied at your hands. Therefore consider well of your doings herein.¹

It is not certain that this letter was actually despatched. The draft was submitted to Walsingham, who, in his reply to Windibank, the Queen's Secretary, advises that it should not be sent, since Sir Roger Williams was so popular that his arrest would probably lead to a fatal mutiny; but he significantly adds that the letter 'was in as mild terms as could be expected under the circumstances.'² On the face of it, the utmost that could be charged against Williams was the technical offence, no doubt from the military point of view grave enough, that he had 'conveyed away' for a few days one of the ships of the fleet, for neither Elizabeth nor Walsingham knew at this time of the month's desertion. Yet Elizabeth does not hesitate to say that Williams' 'offence is in so high a degree that the same

¹ Devereux, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-201.

² J. S. Corbett. 'Drake and the Tudor Navy,' II., p. 327 n.

deserveth by all the laws to be punished by death,' and Walsingham, hard-headed Walsingham, agrees with her. The historians explain the letter as the outburst of an angry woman slighted by her lover, and no doubt they are partly right; but, in that case, why should the whole weight of the Queen's wrath fall upon Williams? Why, too, did Williams and Essex leave London at that particular moment? It is true that Essex was anxious to fly from Court, but Drake and Norris were probably aware of his intention and would in any case give Williams due warning before they set sail. Now, on April 3rd there was no prospect at all of the fleet's departure; the winds were not only still adverse but blowing a hurricance outside port. Only imminent danger to one of the parties concerned will adequately explain the headlong career of Williams and Essex to Plymouth. In short, I am persuaded that there was something more behind this affair than a quarrel between the favourite and his royal mistress. Curious rumours were afloat. Elizabeth, writes Windibank to Walsingham, was 'strangely informed against' Drake and Norris, whom she evidently suspected of being in complicity with Williams.¹ And when the 'Swiftsure' joined the other ships on 20th May, the tongues of the fleet discussed their previous absence and whispered of secret doings. We have a contemporary account of the expedition written by one of the officers of the fleet, which states that Essex 'put off in the same wind from Falmouth that we left Plymouth in; where he lay, because he would avoid the importunities of messengers that were

¹ 'State Papers Domestic' (Eliz.), ccxxii., 50.

daily sent for his return, *and some other causes more secret to himself.*¹ Finally, although Essex returned to England about 6th June in obedience to a peremptory letter, and was speedily forgiven, the next thing we hear of Williams is that he is fighting for Henry of Navarre. There is no evidence that he returned to England with the fleet on 1st July, and the presumption is that he took service with Navarre immediately after the Portuguese expedition. On 28th September, Lord Willoughby landed at Dieppe with an English force to assist the French King. This Williams joined, taking part with his usual reckless bravery in the attack on Paris. Willoughby found the utmost difficulty in getting letters conveyed home through the enemy, who now lay right across his line of communication. Williams alone, Willoughby informs Elizabeth, could be trusted to win through in safety, and he was accordingly made the bearer of a letter dated 29th October, in which he himself was specially commended for his services and brave conduct.² He reached England, and under such circumstances, Elizabeth, whatever her grudge against him, could scarcely have received him with anything but graciousness. Possibly Willoughby sent him home in this way on purpose to help him obtain the pardon. Possibly, too, by this time Essex had prevailed upon the Queen to forgive his friend. Williams, however, returned to France, where, except for occasional visits to London, he spent most of his time in harness until his death in 1595.

¹ 'A True Coppie of a Discourse,' 1589. Grosart, 'Miscellanea Antiqua Poetica,' III., 68. (The italics are mine.)

² Bertie *op. cit.*, pp. 271 n., 272, 300.

He died a wealthy man, leaving everything to the Earl of Essex, who gave him a sumptuous funeral with military honours at St. Paul's.

The reader will by this time be aware of the direction in which the evidence is taking us. The suggestion is that Martin Marprelate was Sir Roger Williams; that he planned the campaign and wrote the first three tracts while kicking his heels in England between his return from Sluys in June, 1587, and his departure for Portugal in April, 1589; that either actual discovery or the fear of it prompted his extraordinary flight from London; that he took Waldegrave, his printer, on board the 'Swiftsure' at Falmouth and conveyed him out of harm's way to Rochelle, where he himself and Essex may have been detained by ill winds for a week or so; and that finally, learning from Essex that it was not yet safe to return to England in July, he sent his notes, with some half-finished tracts and 'More worke for the Cooper,' by someone in the returning fleet, who conveyed them to Penry's hands. True, Williams never went to the Groine, as Martin Junior and Senior suggested, but in the nature of the case they could not know that fact; they knew nothing except that Martin had sailed to Portugal and had not returned. So far, our argument has been based upon a number of remarkable coincidences. Let us sum these up in the form of a time chart before we proceed:

1587.

30th June.

Fall of Sluys. Williams comes to
England.

Field, Penry and others arranging
for a violent attack upon the
bishops.

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1588.

May.
Armada leaves Spain.
Williams frequently absents himself
without leave from the army.

c. 10th July.
Armada in the Channel.

29th July.
Battle of Gravelines.

c. 9th October.
Williams goes to Netherlands with
Norris.

10th November.
Williams returns to England.

May.
By this 'The Epistle' and 'Epi-
tome' already taking shape.

29th September.
Marprelate press set up at East
Molesey.

c. 15th October.
'Epistle' published. The press
moved to Fawsley before 1st
November.

c. 29th November.
'The Epitome' published.

1589.

February.
Williams appointed third in com-
mand of Portuguese Expedition,
but remains in London.

3rd April.
Williams and Essex dash to Ply-
mouth.

7th April.
The 'Swiftsure' puts in at Fal-
mouth.

c. 18th April.
The fleet leaves England. About
the same time the 'Swiftsure'
sails away and disappears for a
month.

20th May.
'Swiftsure' joins the fleet.

23rd May.
Assault of Peniche by Williams
and Essex.

25th May.
Attack on Lisbon.

c. 20th February.
'The Minerals' printed.
23rd March.
'Hay any worke' printed. Walde-
grave goes to Devonshire.

c. 18th April.
'Martin' leaves England as an
'honourable soldier.'

c. 10th May.
Penry hears that Waldegrave is in
Rochelle.

During the summer Waldegrave
prints 'Th' Appellation,' 'M.
Some' and 'A Dialogue.'

1589—*continued.**c.* 6th June.

Essex returns to England.

1st July.

The fleet comes home.

?

Williams joins Navarre's army.

1st August.

Assassination of Henry III.

c. 15th September.Williams with Henry of Navarre
at Dieppe.

28th September.

English troops land at Dieppe.

25th October.

Attack on Paris.

29th October.

Williams brings Willoughby's letter
to Elizabeth.*c.* 1st July.Martin's papers reach Penry's hands
in 'weather beaten' condition.
'Theses' copied out and 'Martin
Junior' and 'Senior' written.*c.* 15th July.

Hodgkins comes to Hasely.

22nd July.

'Martin Junior' printed.

29th July.

'Martin Senior' printed.

14th August.

The press and printers captured at
Manchester.

? September.

Waldegrave comes to Hasely.¹

15th September—15th October.

About this time the 'Protestation'
written and printed.

? October.

Penry flies to Scotland.

early 1590.

Waldegrave becomes Royal Printer
in Scotland.

As far as dates go, the above table presents only one obstacle to our theory. 'The Protestation,' 'published by the worthie gentleman Martin Marprelate,' was written and printed when Williams was in France. More will be said about this later, but here it is worth noting that 'The Protestation' synchronises with Williams' presence at Dieppe, whence communication with England was easy.

¹ 'THE LIBRARY,' Second Series, VIII., 357.

III.

Up to the present we have established, with I think fair certainty, the following points: (1) That Martin was a military officer or general who took part in the expedition of 1589; (2) that Waldegrave left Devonshire for Rochelle about the same time as the fleet sailed for Portugal, and in all probability was taken there in the 'Swiftsure'; (3) that there is some mystery hitherto unexplained attaching to Williams' conduct and Elizabeth's wrath against him; (4) that there is nothing chronologically impossible in the supposition that Williams wrote the first three Marprelate tracts.

Sir Roger Williams, then, is a very *possible* candidate for the authorship; but we have now to ask ourselves whether he was in any sense a *likely* one. Is there anything to indicate that Essex, who was the intimate of Williams, had any special knowledge of the business or was likely to sympathise with it? Do the tracts give us any more clues about the personality of Martin which agree with what we know about Sir Roger? Could the Welsh knight wield the pen as well as the sword? Was he a puritan? Does his known character display any of those whimsical qualities which are strikingly exemplified in the pages of the tracts? These and similar questions demand answers before our theory can claim proper recognition.

That Martin had friends at Court is a commonplace of Marprelate scholarship. The anti-Martinist writers, and especially Pasquil, constantly lamented that great men, who are, of course, unnamed,

encouraged the puritans in order that they themselves might profit by the further secularisation of church property which would result from the abolition of episcopacy.¹ The chief of these was undoubtedly the Earl of Leicester, to whom all puritans looked for patronage, and in whose house they held secret conclaves.² But Leicester died on 4th September, 1588, just before the appearance of 'The Epistle,' though he probably knew that something was on foot, since it is recorded in the evidence against the Martinists 'that Penry hath said before any of these libels came forth, that a nobleman deceased did encourage him to write bitterly against the bishops and that (if he were discovered) he should not be imprisoned by the commissioners but by some others for a fashion and so shortly after delivered.'³ Essex, who succeeded Leicester as Elizabeth's favourite, succeeded him also as leader of the puritan party at court, and Whitgift in 1589 opposed his election to the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford on the ground that 'he was generally looked upon as a great patron of the puritans.' It is to him that Martin obviously refers in his 'Epistle' when he bids Whitgift 'Remember your brother Haman. Do you think there is never a Mordecai to step to our gracious Esther for preserving the lives of her faithfullest and best subjects, whom you so mortally

¹ McKerrow, 'Nashe,' i., p. 75, l. 11; p. 94, l. 26; p. 102, l. 7; p. 114. *cp.* also the remarkable Story of the Bear (Leicester) told by Nashe himself, pp. 221-6.

² *e.g.*, 'The lecture in my Lord of Leicester's house,' referred to in 'M. Some laid open,' p. 2.

³ Arber, 'Introductory Sketch,' p. 117.

hate and bitterly persecute?'¹ Martin Senior, again, in his mock 'oration of the archbishop to the pursuivants,' puts this significant passage into Whitgift's mouth: 'In faith I think they do my lord of Essex great wrong, that say he favours Martin. I do not think he will be so unwise as to favour those who are enemies unto the State. For if he do, her Majesty, I can tell him, will withdraw her gracious favour from him.'² Finally, a close connection between Essex and Martin is suggested by the well-known story which relates that, upon the occasion of the royal proclamation (13th February, 1589) against the printers and 'dispersers' of the tracts, the young earl in the Queen's presence pulled one of them out of his doublet, and, presenting it to her majesty enquired, 'What then is to become of me?'³ And if we turn to Martin's tracts themselves we find him openly boasting of his power and reputation in high circles. 'I have been entertained at the court. . . . I hope these courtiers will one day see the cause tried between me and you,' he writes in 'The Epitome'; and in the same tract he twice speaks of himself as 'the Courtier Martin,' a phrase which he employs again in 'Hay any worke.'⁴ In one place, indeed, he even goes so far as to declare that the bishops are afraid of him. From Cooper's 'Admonition,' one of the replies to the tracts, Martin quotes the sentence, 'Let the libeller and his do what they dare,' upon which he

¹ Pierce, 'Tracts,' p. 69.

² *Ibid.*, p. 357.

³ Maskell, 'Martin Marprelate,' pp. 123-4.

⁴ Pierce, 'Tracts,' pp. 118, 120, 171, 264.

comments, 'Here I pray thee mark how I have made the bishops to pull in their horns. For whereas in this place they had printed the word *dare*, they bethought themselves, that they had to deal with my Worship, which am favoured at Court, and being afraid of me, they pasted the word *can* upon the word *dare*.'¹ That this was no idle boast the modern reader may see for himself by an examination of the first edition of Cooper's pamphlet. Again, there are many indications in the tract that Martin had a house in London, and was himself a member of the Court. He warns Whitgift that he is nearer him than he is aware of.² He declares that he knows the archbishop, though he knows no great good of him.³ He always speaks of the bishops as if he had observed their personal habits, and knew the court scandals against them. He refers in the 'theses' to a sermon of Bancroft's preached 28th January, 1583, at Paul's Cross, which he must have heard himself, for it was apparently never printed. His tracts are full of references to London people and scenes, more especially river scenes, which is interesting in the light of the fact that Sir Roger Williams had a house on St. Paul's Wharf.⁴

Sir Roger Williams was a Welshman, and a native of Monmouthshire. His birthplace, Penrhôs, lay near Caerleon, and was therefore not far distant from Cefn Brith, Brecknockshire, where John Penry was born in 1559. Even if the young Welsh reformer had no previous acquaintance

¹ Pierce, 'Tracts,' pp. 269-70. ² *Ibid.*, p. 220. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

⁴ Dict. Nat. Biog.: Roger Williams.

with his famous compatriot, Sir Roger Williams, the most prominent Welshman in London and the intimate friend of Essex, who was the leader of the Puritan party at court, would be the first man to whom Penry would naturally turn to for help. It is almost inconceivable that the two Welshmen could have remained personally unacquainted. On the other hand, internal evidence is all in favour of attributing the first three Marprelate tracts to a Monmouthshire man. The quaint and for the most part incomprehensible rigmarole which precedes the signature to 'The Epistle' begins, 'Given at my castle between two Wales . . .', which is a clear reference to Monmouth, the county that lies on the borders of Devon and Wales proper. Throckmorton, moreover, in his 'M. Some laid open,' after indulging in some fooling in Martin's style, breaks off with, 'But I will not blot any more paper with such ware as this; there is enough of it to be had in the West Country if a man could light upon it'¹: a passage which I take to be an indication that Martin came from the west of England. That Martin, was not an Englishman is, to me at least, proved by his contemptuous treatment of the jingoistic utterances of Aylmer's 'Harborowe,' where, as he puts it, 'you shall see the Englishman preferred before other people, only because he feedeth upon . . . plenty of sheep, oxen, kie . . . whereas other nations feed upon roots, raw herbs, oil and grapes.'² The whole passage calls to mind Fluellen and his

¹ 'M. Some laid open,' p. 69.

² Pierce, 'Tracts,' pp. 153-4.

leek. Aylmer also rouses Martin's ire for his attacks upon the French king and the 'foolish Germans.' A Welshman would resent Aylmer's declaration that 'God is English.'¹ A soldier of fortune like Williams, who had fought with or against most of the nationalities of Europe, would heartily despise the narrow insularism of such utterances. But one of the chief indications of Martin's place of origin is the dialect of the tracts. Terms like 'Ise' (I shall), 'chauve' (I have), 'iss' (yes), 'ti' (thy), 'tee' (thee), are frequent. Sometimes one comes across whole sentences in dialect, such as 'thou hast a right seasoned wainscote face of ti nowne, chwarnt tee, ti vorehead zaze hard as horne.'² All this is West English, very much as it is still spoken in Monmouth and Somerset to-day. Mr. Pierce describes it as 'conventional,' and contends that Martin took it from such books as 'Gammer Gurton's Needle.'³ To my mind, Martin's use of it is too frequent and assured for it to have been a mere literary trick, and I prefer to think that he borrowed it from the peasants of his native district. Among a number of curious expressions in the first three tracts occurs the word 'umbertie,' which, as Mr. Pierce himself points out, is allied to the Welsh word 'umberth' (a multitude). Finally, Martin constantly fails, intentionally or involuntarily, to distinguish in his orthography between the consonants 'f' and 'v,' which again points to the Welshman, who would naturally pronounce an English 'f' as

¹ 'Harborowe,' 1559, sig. P. 4. v.

² 'Tracts,' p. 272.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 257 note.

‘v’¹; and it is interesting to notice that Martin Junior and Senior, though otherwise avoiding dialectal forms, nearly always refer to Martin Marprelate as their ‘Vather,’ as if it were a term of endearment. This is only to touch the fringe of of an important theme. The dialect of Martin, and indeed of Elizabethan literature generally, is a subject that badly needs investigation.

Of Sir Roger Williams’ Puritan sympathies there can be no doubt. His intimacy with Essex, his hatred of Spain, the long campaigns in the Netherlands, where he would come across not only the Dutch Calvinists, but also the most extreme of the English reformers who took refuge at Middleburgh and other places, all indicate the probability of a pronounced Puritan bias. But the Puritanism of such a man, a dweller in camps, a lover of the good things of life (he died of a surfeit),² would scarcely be of the same complexion as that of Cartwright and the preachers. Now Martin, though hating the bishops with the best of them, was very far from being a precisian. His frequent references to card-playing show that he was thoroughly conversant with the various games of the day. The Bishop of Chester, he tells us, is a great card-player, yet he upbraids him, not for that, but because he makes ‘trade thereof.’ Indeed, he admits that ‘in winter it is no great matter to take a little sport, for an odd cast, braces of twenty nobles, when the weather is foul that men cannot

¹ In Welsh the letter *f* represents the consonantal *v* sound, while the *f* sound is written *ff* or *ph*.

² Devereux, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

go abroad to bowls or to shoot. What, would you have men take no recreation?'¹ No rigid Puritan would have penned this striking passage, which condones not merely card-playing for money, but bowls and other recreations which were hardly less obnoxious in Puritan eyes. Moreover, the mention of such sports, and the light reference to heavy stakes like 'braces of twenty nobles,' stamps the sentence as the utterance of a man of means and a courtier. Martin indeed has evidently very little respect for the ordinary Puritans, 'our precise brethren,'² as he calls them, with a slight curl of the lip. He realises to the full their lack of humour ('I am sure their noses can abide no jest'³), for he himself suffers by it. 'The Puritans are angry with me, I mean the Puritan preachers. And why? Because I am too open, because I jest'; and again, 'I am favoured of all estates, the Puritans only excepted.'⁴ This is the burden of all his tracts. In places he seems to hint that the Puritans are intriguing against him. 'This is the Puritans' craft in procuring me to be confuted, I know. I'll be even with them too.'⁵ 'I know I am disliked . . . of many which you call Puritans. It is their weakness I am threatened to be hanged by you.'⁶ But the most remarkable passage of all is that in which he threatens Cartwright himself, the leader of the Puritan movement. Cooper's 'Admonition' appeared with the letters T. C. upon the title-page, and Martin is evidently not quite sure whom these letters signify. He takes them,

¹ 'Tracts,' p. 218.² *Ibid.*, p. 123.³ *Ibid.*, p. 125.⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 118.⁵ p. 215.⁶ p. 245.

and rightly, to stand for Thomas Cooper, but they might — uncomfortable thought! — equally well refer to Thomas Cartwright. Martin is determined to face even that eventuality, 'Thomas Cartwright, shall I say that thou madest this book against me, because T. C. is set to it? Well, take heed of it! If I find it to be thy doing, I will besoop thee, as thou never bandedst John Whitgift in thy life.' This contempt for the precisian, and freedom from his narrow prejudices, this suspicion that the preachers are not acting honestly by him, this ignorance of their spirit and tendencies which allows him to think for one moment that Cartwright could have penned Cooper's 'Admonition,' and finally this bold threat to treat the chief Puritan minister of the land in the same manner as he had treated the bishops, are proofs that Martin, earnest man and sound anti-episcopalian as he was, could have been no ordinary Puritan — that, on the contrary, he stood outside the Puritan camp, firing his lonely gun at the foe, but careless or contemptuous what his allies thought of him.

Sir Roger Williams was not only a brave soldier, but also a man of considerable learning and wide reading. Indeed, his quaint pedantry was almost as attractive to his admirers as his courage. He was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford.² Martin, too, it seems, was an Oxford man,³ who had a special grudge against one Dr. Prime, a Fellow of New College, to whom he gives the curious nickname 'Wynkyn

¹ 'Tracts,' p. 266.

² Dict. Nat. Biog., *op. cit.*

³ This is proved by his constant reference to Oxford teachers and Oxford text books; cf. 'Tracts,' pp. 34, 267, 282.

de Worde.' Among his 'unperfite papers' was a Latin satire upon this man,¹ and there are many other indications that Martin was a good Latin scholar. His knowledge of history, especially of Roman history,² is extensive, and his boast, 'I have read something in my days,'³ is no idle one. Nor has he neglected the literature of England. He refers to the 'Wife of Bath,' and he mentions 'Gammer Gurton's Needle' no less than three times.⁴ At the same time, his theological attainments, though quite adequate to his purpose, are nothing remarkable in an age when everyone was his own theologian as he was his own lawyer. As a soldier Sir Roger's main interest was naturally military tactics, and he has left us two books on this subject: 'The Actions of the Lowe Countries,' first published in 1618, dealing with his campaigns in the Netherlands, which is described by Motley as 'one of the most valuable and attractive histories of the age'; and 'A briefe discourse of Warre,' 1590, which is chiefly concerned with military discipline and tactical theory. The relation between the style of these treatises and that of Martin will be considered later; it is sufficient here to notice that with Sir Roger Williams the pen was almost as mighty as the sword. 'A briefe Discourse,' moreover, contains a clue which, taken in conjunction with those already brought forward, is of great importance. It will be recollected that Martin's papers had arrived in England at the beginning of July, 1589, in an imperfect condition, and that the

¹ 'Tracts,' p. 363.² *Ibid.*, p. 249.³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 282, 33, 140, 167.

writer of the epistle to 'More worke' had complained of the misery of sea-journeys and the loss of his papers. The said loss cannot refer to the seizure of the manuscript with the printers in August, because it was spoken of in the manuscript which was itself seized—*i.e.*, the epistle to 'More worke.' In the light of this, it is extraordinarily interesting to find Sir Roger Williams telling Essex, in the dedication of his book published 1590 (the very next year), that he had busied himself for more than two years 'in writing sundrie a^ctions that passed in our daies,' which he would have published had he not 'unfortunately lost part of his papers through the negligence of a servant.' By itself, the point might be dismissed as a mere coincidence. But in an argument like the present, which rests entirely upon circumstantial evidence, once a certain number of coincidences have been adduced, every fresh one becomes a strong link in the chain of proof. Martin's papers had been carelessly handled, as we have seen, for they were drenched with sea-water. It appears now that their 'unperfite' condition was also due to the 'negligence' of the servant into whose hands they were entrusted, together with the rest of Sir Roger Williams' manuscripts.

IV.

It remains to round off this side of the argument with a few remarks upon Williams' personality. He is one of the great 'characters' of Elizabethan England. Every historian who has come across him lingers lovingly over his eccentricities. Motley

calls him 'the mad Welshman,' and again, 'that doughty Welshman . . . truculent and caustic, ready with sword and pen, foremost in every mad adventure or every forlorn hope'; he speaks of his 'experienced eye and keen biting humour,' of his sharp sensible tongue, and his frank open heart; he pictures him with 'his shrewd Welsh head under his iron morion, and a stout Welsh heart under his tawny doublet.' Mr. Corbett, the greatest authority on Elizabethan seamanship, describes Williams as 'one of the most distinguished soldiers of his time,' and again as 'the renowned Welsh captain with his professional pedantry, his quaint and forcible turns of speech, his vanity and cool valour.' Sir Sidney Lee, in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' mentions his choleric temper and bluntness of speech, his conspicuous valour and daring, and in reference to the wars in France under Navarre, speaks of him as 'prominent in many skirmishes, squabbling as of old with his commanders, challenging the enemy to single combat, and writing to the Queen, with almost insolent frankness, of the niggardly support she was affording to the foreign allies.' Martin Hume also writes to much the same effect. But the figure of the man stands out clearest of all in the old story told of him and printed in the Camden Society's 'Anecdotes and Traditions.'¹ It runs as follows: 'Sir Roger Williams (who was a Welchman, and but a taylour at the first, though afterwards a very brave souldier) being gracious with Queen Elizabeth, prefer'd a suite to her, which she

¹ p. 47, 1839, ed. W. J. Thoms.

thought not fitt to grant ; but he, impasient of a repulse, resolv'd to give another assault ; so coming one day to court, makes his address to the Queene, and watching his time, when she was free and pleasaunt, beganne to move againe ; she perceived it at the instant, and observing a new payre of boots on his leggs, clapps her hand to her nose and cryes, "Fah, Williams, I prythee, begone, thy bootes stinke." "Tut, Tut, madame," sayes he, "'tis my sute that stinkes."

A little picture like this of the Elizabethan Court is worth volumes of history. Small wonder, indeed, that the Marprelate business was hushed up if Williams, who could address the Queen in such familiar terms, was the author of the tracts. But this man lives, as he deserves, in other pages than those of history. All the historians have noticed his resemblance to that 'marvellous Welshman,' Fluellen. It would be strange if they had not. Fluellen's choler, his bluntness, his ready wit, his vanity, his pedantry, his sturdy love of his native land, his cool and dashing bravery, his contempt for everyone's opinion but his own upon the subject of 'the disciplines of wars,' are all Williams' characteristics. When Fluellen tells Henry V., 'I am your majesty's countryman, I care not who knows it ; I will confess it to all the 'orld ; I need not to be ashamed of your majesty, praised be God, so long as your majesty is an honest man,' we hear the voice of the Monmouthshire knight addressing his liege lady Elizabeth Tudor. When Pistol reminds Fluellen that the Duke of Exeter loves him well, and Fluellen replies,

'Ay, I praise God; and I have merited some love at his hands,' we at once think of the intimacy between Williams and Essex. The parallel, in short, is far too close to have been accidental. Shakspeare knew Southampton, and probably his friend Essex; and even if he never met Sir Roger he must, like everyone else in London, have heard stories of the extraordinary Welsh knight. Moreover, when he set out in 1599 to write his great epic drama of England in arms, could he have chosen a more appropriate figure to strut upon the front of his stage than one who was at once the bravest and most popular of Elizabeth's officers and the most eccentric of Elizabeth's courtiers? Shakspeare never invented when the stuff lay ready to his hand. His age had produced a magnificent fighting man who was also a great comic figure. He put him, just as he was, into his play, and the world has marvelled ever since at the finest comic soldier in all literature. The choleric knight himself, it should be noted, could take no umbrage at the dramatist's action, for he had been in his grave some four years when 'Henry V.' was first played within the 'wooden O' of the Globe Theatre.

The personality of Fluellen-Williams is exactly that which one might have expected the author of the Marprelate tracts to possess. Whimsical and blunt; intensely serious, yet boisterous and vivacious; impatient of the slightest contradiction; ready to pick a quarrel with any man who irritates him, even if he be of his own party; overflowing with originality, with wit, with arrogance and

with personal vanity; and yet at the same time all the more attractive, even lovable, for the very foibles of his character—such is the Martin we find in the tracts, as those who know them well can testify. They can testify also to the presence, behind this eccentric exterior, of a man of lofty purpose, of absolute fearlessness, of more than usual energy. Monmouth did not and could not produce three such men to add to the gaiety of Elizabethan England. Martin, Williams, and Fluellen are one man, and I venture to assert that the compound makes one of the most astonishing personalities of that astonishing period. Shakespeare was not the only poet who looked with admiration upon the Welshman. Williams' compatriot, John Davies of Hereford, has celebrated him by name in his 'Microcosmos,' 1603, and we cannot do better than close this estimate of his character with two quotations from this poem:

Now from the Court, descend we to the campe,
 And from those elder times, to these of ours:
 There find we (no less currant for the stampe)
Williams (world's wonder for his native powers)
 Out daring Death in many sanguine shoures:
 The singing Bullets made his soule rejoyce
 As Musicke that the hearing most alures,
 And if the cannons bas'd it with their voice,
 He seem'd as ravisht with a Heav'nly noise.
 And when the Fomens muskets spight did spitt
 Then would he spitt in sport at them the while:
 The Blowes his courage gave were plac'd by witt,
 For Witt and Courage dwelt still in his stile:
 While Cowardice and Folly made them vile

Whose glory lay all in their Ladies' lappe,
 And when he came to Court, at them would smile,
 Yea, smoothlie jest at their soft-silken Happe,
 Yet could, like Mars, take there sometimes a napp.

.

Should I recount the pettie Miracles
 By him performéd, in his marshall course,
 My words would scarce be held for Oracles:
 Suffizeth me the World (that knew his force)
 Well knew his Hart was Witt and Valour's source,
 And they that most envy our Brittish Fame
 Must needs thus much of him confesse (perforce)
 That whatsoever from this Brittain came
 Was Witt and spright, or favor'd of the same.

‘Wit and courage dwelt still in his style,’ ‘His heart was wit and valour’s source,’ ‘That whatsoever from this Briton came was wit or sprite’: what more appropriate phrases could be found for the Welsh soldier-pedant who wrote the Marprelate tracts?

J. DOVER WILSON.

(To be concluded.)

SHAKESPEARE AND THE HORSE.

THE 'Sermon on Source-Hunting' recently delivered by Professor Neil Dodge¹ contains much sound doctrine and judicious observation. But in the examples which he employs to enforce his lesson he is not always fortunate. It is my present purpose to consider in detail the first of the cases of misguided source-hunting to which he directs attention—namely, the description of the horse in 'Venus and Adonis.' Professor Dodge reprints—italics and all—the parallel which has recently been pointed out by Sir Sidney Lee² between Shakespeare's lines and the description of Cain's horse in Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas. But though the array of italicised phrases, as Professor Dodge concedes, is impressive, he warns the reader against hastily assuming that Sylvester—or rather his French original—was the 'source' used by Shakespeare. For one may find 'a very similar description of a horse in Pulci's "*Morgante Maggiore*" (canto xv., stanzas 105-7).' 'Did Du Bartas,' he inquires, 'here imitate Pulci? Was it Pulci or Du Bartas that Shakespeare imitated, or was it both?'

¹ 'Modern Philol.' (October, 1911), ix., 211 ff.

² 'The French Renaissance in England,' 1910, p. 337 note.

So far as the Du Bartas-Shakespeare parallel is concerned, Professor Dodge might have increased the force of his objections by noting that some of the striking points of resemblance which appear in Sylvester's translation are lacking in the French original, though, as the translation is later than 'Venus and Adonis,' the French text alone would have been accessible to Shakespeare. For example, the horse's mane in Du Bartas is not 'thin,' as it is in Sylvester and Shakespeare. Nor does Sylvester's phrase 'fat buttocks' (italicised by Sir Sidney) find its counterpart in the French text.

In reply to Professor Dodge's rhetorical question, then, we may agree at once that the description of the horse in 'Venus and Adonis' is not derived from Du Bartas or from Du Bartas *plus* Pulci. But are the similarities between the three descriptions adequately accounted for by the statement with which Professor Dodge concludes his discussion?

. . . all three descriptions are but poetic records of the various 'good points' then recognized by connoisseurs in horseflesh. These would of course vary, according to locality and time, even as the three descriptions vary, but it would be odd if the ideal English steed of the end of the sixteenth century were another beast than the ideal French steed of the same era, or even than the ideal Italian steed of a hundred years earlier; and that Shakespeare, who knew most of what was practically worth knowing in his day, from the prejudices of the rural gentry to the ways of London inn-keepers, should need a foreign poet to teach him the points of a good horse is surely improbable.

Though this statement is not entirely explicit, it seems to imply that these poets—or Shakespeare at least—described the horse without reference to authorities, drawing merely upon their observation and the stock of common knowledge in their day. But in ignoring the existence of a more or less definite literary tradition concerning the points of the horse, it is distinctly misleading. For even after the theory of direct dependence is eliminated, the possibility still remains that these poets were following earlier models. Indeed, without this hypothesis it is difficult to explain the points of agreement which one notes in these three descriptions—as well as in others which will be mentioned presently. In other words, Professor Dodge has not solved the problem confronting the student of Shakespeare, but has merely added to its complications. Accordingly, his sermon becomes *an incentive to more source-hunting*. Drive out the source-hunter with a fork, and he still comes running back!

Another description of the horse to which Mr. C. K. Pooler, in his edition of 'Venus and Adonis,'¹ has just called attention, is found in Edward Topsel's 'Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes' (London, 1607). As Mr. Pooler remarks in his note on Shakespeare's lines, 'Of these fourteen points, Topsel in his several descriptions of the colt, horse, and stallion explicitly names ten.' Again, in the same year in which Topsel's book appeared, Gervase Markham published a treatise on horsemanship, 'Cavelarice,' which contains a somewhat

¹ 'Shakespeare's Poems,' Arden Shakespeare, London, 1911.

similar list of the points of the good horse. As this has never been referred to in connection with Shakespeare's description, I quote the passage (with some abridgements) :

His head should be somewhat long, leane, and large . . . ; his eare if it be short and sharpe, it is best, but if it bee long and vpright, it is a signe of speede and good mettall. His foreheade long and rysing in the midst . . . ; his eyes full and rounde; his nostrils wyde, and without rawnesse, his mouth large and hairie; . . . his crest strong and well rysen; his necke straight, firme, and as it were of one peece with his bodie; . . . a broad strong brest, a short chyne, an out-ribbe, a well-hidden bellie, shorte and well-knitte ioyntes, flat legges, exceeding shorte, straight and vpright pasternes, which is a member above all other to be noted: his hooves bothe blacke and strong, yet long and narrow; and for his maine and taile, the thinner the more spirit, the thicker the greater sign of dullnesse.¹

Markham's preference for the thin mane is an interesting point of agreement with the 'Venus and Adonis' against the thick mane of Topsel's lists. Nevertheless, Markham's catalogue on the whole cannot be said to be closer to Shakespeare than are those of Topsel.

Markham and Topsel, like Sylvester, are too late, of course, to have influenced Shakespeare. Yet as we compare their lists in detail, we begin to suspect that we are dealing with a more or less stereotyped catalogue of the points of the horse, whose sources lie farther back. Topsel, indeed, gives us a valuable clue to the sources of his

¹ Book III., cap. 2, ed. 1607, pp. 13-14.

material by his repeated references to classical writers.¹

As a preliminary to the study of the descriptions by writers of the sixteenth century, it becomes necessary, therefore, to examine briefly the points of the good horse as they are set forth by classical authors. These have been conveniently assembled by Professor M. H. Morgan,² in his translation of Xenophon's *Περὶ Ἱππικῆς*. By way of commentary upon Xenophon's discussion of the shape which a horse should have (chap. I., pp. 14-18), he presents in translation passages on the same subject from ten Greek and Roman authors (pp. 107-117)—namely:

Simon the Athenian (? beginning of the fourth cent. B.C.).

Varro, 'Rerum Rusticum,' Lib. III. (37 B.C.).

Vergil, 'Georgics' (about 29 B.C.), Lib. III., vv. 72 ff.

Calpurnius Siculus, 'Eclogues' (betw. 57 and 60 A.D.), VI., vv. 52, ff.

Columella, 'De Re Rustica' (a little before 65 A.D.), Lib. VI., cap. xxix.: 'De indole et forma equi.'

Oppian, 'De Venatione' (first part of third cent.), Lib. I., vv. 173-193.

Nemesian, 'Cynegeticon' (second half of third cent.), Lib. I. (Ed. 1533, fol. 18^b).

¹ For example, Plato, Varro, Vergil and Palladius. The passage which he quotes as from Varro, however, really belongs to Columella. This and other slips make me doubt strongly whether Topsel in most instances quoted at first hand.

² 'The Art of Horsemanship,' Boston, 1893.

Aspyrtus (veterinary surgeon under Constantine the Great), in 'Geoponica,' XVI., i. 9 ff.

Pelagonius, 'Ars Veterinaria' (last half of fourth cent.), Ed. Ihm, Leipzig, 1892, p. 33.

Palladius, 'De Re Rustica' (about 350 A.D.), Lib. IV., Tit. 13.

To this list should be added two other similar passages, mentioned by Professor Morgan, but not printed by him:

Julius Pollux the Grammarian, 'Onomasticon' (second cent.), cap. xi., § 5, 'De corpore et ingenio equi boni et mali.' The Greek text of the 'Onomasticon' was printed in 1502; the Latin text was first printed at Basel in 1541.

Isidore of Seville, 'Origines' (Lib. XII., cap. i., 'De pecoribus et iumentis').

For our present purpose it is not necessary to reprint these texts, most of which are easily accessible, nor to compare them in detail. Some observations as to their relationships, however, may be of interest.

Of all the descriptions of the horse in the foregoing list none, perhaps, was more important than that of Columella (which was itself a combination of the account by Varro with that of Vergil). Columella's description was followed directly (with slight verbal changes) by the two writers on veterinary science, Aspyrtus and Pelagonius. Palladius likewise based his account directly upon Columella's, though he used his source with greater freedom. One change introduced by Palladius is of such importance for our purpose that it must be noted—namely, the change from 'oculi nigri' to 'oculi magni.'

Palladius's treatise was translated during the Middle Ages into several languages, among them being English.¹ Moreover, Palladius's description of the horse was incorporated by Isidore in his cyclopædic treatise on 'Origins.' And through Isidore the influence of Palladius was probably even greater than at first hand.² Directly based on Isidore's text is the metrical description of the horse in Lawrence of Durham's 'Dialogi,'³ as well as the prose account by Albertus Magnus in the 22nd Book of his treatise, 'De Animalibus.'⁴ And, finally, a literal translation of the passage in the 'Origines' was included in that famous compilation, 'Batman upon Bartholome'⁵:

And heereto Isidore saith, that old men meane, that in gentle horses, noble men take heede of foure things: of shape & of fairnesse, of wilfulnesse and of colour. Of shape, that he be strong and sadde of body, and according to strength & might and height, and length, and breadth, that the side be long, and some deale small, that the loynes be great, and the thighs round and large, and broad breasted, and all the body full sad, and full of brawne, and the foote drye, and hoofe hollow and sad. Fairnesse is knowen by lytle head, and the skinne cleauing nigh to y^e bone, if

¹ 'Palladius on Husbandrie,' ed. E. E. T. S. from a manuscript of about 1420.

² Certain slight alterations by Isidore enable us to distinguish the influence of his account in subsequent writers. Thus Pall., 'vastum corpus,' Isidore, 'validum corpus'; Pall., 'aures breves et argutae,' Isidore, 'aures breves et acutae'; Pall., 'coma et cauda profusior,' Isidore, 'coma densa et cauda.' Isidore also inserts a new item, 'erecta ceruix.'

³ Vv. 195-216, ed. Surtees Soc., vol. lxx., p. 21.

⁴ Ed. Venice, 1494, fol. 216^b.

⁵ London, 1582, Lib. XVIII., Of Equo, chap. 39.

the eares be little and sharpe, if the eyen be great and the nosethrills large, if he beareth up the head, if the maane be thicke, and the tayle long, and if the hoofe be well pight and round. The wilfulnesse is knowen, if he be bold of hart, and swifte of feete, if y^e members quake: it is token of strength, and if he be soone areared, and riseth soone from great rest: or els, if he be soone stinted in swifte course and running. The colour is knowen, for the coulour in them, is nowe red, now blacke, nowe white, and nowe graye, and now diuers, and now speckeled. The diuers colour beautifieth much or disfigureth an horse, and is a token to know strength and will of a horse: but to pursue by order, and to make processe orderly, it were long. *Huc usque Isidorus libro. 12.*

To return to the classical writers in Professor Morgan's list, the description of the horse by Oppian seems to show a perceptible reminiscence of the 'Georgics.' Nor were Oppian's lines altogether without influence upon later writers. In the 'Historia de Vi et Natura Animalium,' compiled by Peter Gilles and published at Lyons in 1533, the chapter on the horse (Lib. IV., cap. i.), though it bears the heading 'Gillii Accessio,' is really only a prose paraphrase of Oppian.¹

The Greek authors cited by Professor Morgan affected the West for the most part, through the medium of Latin literature. But with the revival of Greek learning instances of direct influence appear. A striking instance of this is found in Conrad Heresbach's 'Rei Rusticae Libri IV.'

¹ It may be worth while noting that Oppian was the first to bring into his description of the horse a comparison to the deer—a point in which he is followed by Gilles, of course, and also by Grisone, Cardano and Du Bartas.

(Cologne, 1570), in which the larger part of the discussion of the points of the horse (fol. 204^b-206) is borrowed directly from Xenophon. From Germany Heresbach's treatise passed to England, where it was translated by Barnabe Googe, and printed in 1577 under the title 'Foure Bookes of Husbandry.'¹ The passage with which we are concerned is on fol. 115 (wrongly printed '113'). In this way Xenophon's description became readily accessible to any Elizabethan writer on the horse. As the result of this brief survey, therefore, one perceives, not only that a coherent body of tradition as to the points of the horse existed in classical literature, but also that in repeated instances this tradition reappears without essential variation in treatises of the sixteenth century.

Having recognised in classical tradition the ultimate sources of the Elizabethan descriptions of the horse, we must take account also of the important contribution which was made by writers of the Middle Ages. For it must not be supposed that all of them were content, like the cyclopædists, to transmit the earlier lists of points without modification. Among mediæval writers on the horse the place of chief importance seems to belong to Jordanus Ruffus de Calabria, veterinary surgeon of the Emperor Frederick II., whose treatise on veterinary science was the earliest in a long line of similar works composed by Italian veterinarians

¹ Some traces of the influence of Pollux's 'Onomasticon' are also to be noted. Thus cf. the description of the eyes, 'Oculi magni, sanguinei atque igneum tuentes prominentesque,' with the phrase of the 'Onomasticon,' 'oculi ignei sanguineum tuentes.'

from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.¹ In the second half of the thirteenth century Ruffo's list of the points of the horse was copied, with trifling alterations, by Petrus de Crescentiis, in his 'Opus Ruralium Commodorum.' I quote the description of the horse from this treatise rather than from Ruffo's, since the Latin text of the latter is not accessible :

De cognitione pulchritudinis equorum.

Equus pulcher corpus habet formosum magnum et longum, et sue magnitudini proportionaliter omnia membra respondent. Caput eius sit gracile siccum et conuenienter longum. Os magnum et laceratum habeat, nares inflatas et magnas, oculos grossos vel non occultos. Auriculas paruas et aspidas deferat. Collum habeat longum et gracile versus caput. Crines paucos et planos. Pectus grossum et quasi rotundum. Dorsum curtum et quasi planum. Lumbos rotundos et grossos. Costas grossas vt bouinas. Ventrem longum. Anchas longas et tensas. Clunem longum et amplum. Caudam habeat longam cum paucis et planis crinibus. Copras latas et bene carnosas. Garecta satis ampla et sicca. Falces habeat curuas vt ceruus. Crura bene ampla et et pilosa. Iuncturas crurium grossas et curtas vt bos. Vngulas pedum amplas duras et concauas prout decet. Sit equus altior aliquantulum in parte posteriori quam in anteriori

¹ Ruffus wrote in Latin, but his book was afterwards translated into the vernacular, under the title 'Libro dell' Arte de Marascalchi,' of which the first edition was printed at Venice in 1492. In the edition of 1554 the description of the horse (cap. iiii.) stands on fol. 7^{vo}. A full list of mediæval Italian treatises upon the horse, with bibliographical details, will be found in Luigi Barbieri's edition of L. Rusio's 'La Mascalcia,' vol. ii., Bologna, 1867.

vt ceruus. Collum deferat eleuatum et sit in eo grossicies iuxta pectus.¹

The phrase 'crines paucos'—the prototype of the 'thin mane' in 'Venus and Adonis'—should be specially noted. Petrus in this particular is closely following Ruffo, and both of them stand in direct opposition to classical tradition. Before the close of the thirteenth century Ruffo's description of the horse was again appropriated, this time by Lorenzo Rusio, author of another veterinary treatise. Rusio's method is interesting: he has made a deliberate combination of Palladius and Ruffo. From Palladius is borrowed the chapter, 'Que sunt consideranda in parentibus' (cap. iii.) and the first few lines of the succeeding chapter, 'De pulchritudine equorum.' The rest of chapter iv. is taken directly from Ruffo. It is noteworthy that in regard to the mane, Rusio ranges himself with Ruffo against Palladius.²

It is hardly necessary for our present purpose to trace the successive redraftings of Ruffo's list of points which are to be found in the series of veterinary treatises from the beginning of the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. It may be of interest, however, to note an instance of the direct influence of Ruffo outside this special field. Luigi Alamanni's poem, 'La Coltivazione,' is usually spoken of as based directly upon the 'Georgics,'

¹ Lib. IX., ed. Louvain, 1473, fol. 136^b.

² Rusio's words are: 'Comas et caudam cum paucis et longis crinibus' ('Liber Marascalcie Equorum,' ed. 1485, fol. 2^a).

but the passage¹ describing the horse owes to the classical sources only one or two minor details. It is from Ruffo that nearly the whole of the description has been taken.

Grande il cauallo, & di misura adorna
 Esser tutto deuria quadrato, & lungo ;
 Leuato il collo, & doue al petto aggiunge
 Ricco, & formoso, & s'assottiglie in alto ;
 Sia breue il capo. & s'assimiglie al serpe ;
 Corte l'acute orecchie ; & largo & piano
 Sia l'occhio, & lieto, & non intorno cauo ;
 Grandi, & gonfiate le fumose nari ;
 Sia squarciata la bocca ; & raro il crino ;
 Doppio, eguale, spianato, & dritto il dorso ;
 L'ampia groppa spatiosa ; il petto aperto ;
 Ben carnose le coscie, & stretto il uentre ;
 Sian neruose le gambe, asciutte, & grosse ;
 Alta l'unghia, sonante, caua, & dura ;
 Corto il tallon ; che non si pieghi à terra ;
 Sia ritondo il ginocchio ; & sia la coda
 Larga, crespata, setosa, & giunta all' anche
 Ne fatica, o, timor la smuoua in alto.²

¹ The horse should be large, handsomely proportioned, compactly built and long; the neck should be raised, and gracefully tapering upward from a generous and shapely breast; let the head be short and resembling a serpent's; the ears short and sharp. Let the eye be large and full and lively, without any hollow surrounding it. Great and swollen the smoking nostrils; the mouth should be well split, and the mane scanty. The back should be double, symmetrical, flat and straight. The ample rump should be large, the breast broad, the thighs well fleshed, and the belly strait. The legs should be sinewy dry and large, and the hoof high, resounding, hollow and hard. The pastern should be short so that it may not bend to the ground. Let the knees be round and the tail be long, curly, bristly and kept close to the haunch so that neither fatigue nor fear should raise it.

² 'La Coltivatione,' Lib. II., ed. Parigi, 1546, fol. 53^b-4. In striking contrast to Alamanni's lines is the thoroughly classical

More difficult to classify are certain descriptions of the horse by mediæval writers, which either lack such definite characteristics as would enable us to determine their lineage, or else show a confusing mixture of influences. Of this sort is the passage in Pulci's 'Morgante Maggiore,'¹ to which Professor Dodge has called attention—though it shows closer resemblances, perhaps, to Lorenzo Rusio than to any other. Of this sort also is the picture of the horse in the well-known goliardic poem—of the thirteenth century at the latest—which bears the title, 'Certamen inter Phillidem et Floram.' The horse which Flora rides is thus described:

Equus fuit domitus pegaseis loris,
Multum pulchritudinis habet et valoris,
pictus artificio varii coloris;
Nam mixtus nigredini candor est oloris.
Pulchre fuit habilis, etatis primeve,
et respexit paululum munde non seve;
ceruix fuit ardua, sparsa coma leve,
auris parua, prominens pectus, caput breve,
Dorso pando jacuit virgini cessure
Spina que non senserat aliquid pressure;
pede cauo, tibia recta, largo crure.
totus fuit sonipes studium nature.²

tone of the description of the horse in the fifteenth century Latin poem 'Rusticus,' by Angelo Politiano (ed. 1512, fol. 7^b). As this description contributes nothing to our present enquiry I have not thought it necessary to quote it.

¹ Canto XV., stanzas 105-7.

² MS. Harl. 978, fol. 95^b-6. The poem has been printed from this manuscript by Thos. Wright, 'Poems of Walter Mapes,' Camden Soc., pp. 258-67, and from another manuscript, which shows considerable textual variation, by J. A. Schmeller, 'Carmina Burana,' 1847, p. 161 ff.

One easily notes in these lines the recurrence of phrases which stood in the classical descriptions.¹ From mediæval tradition, on the other hand, comes the thin mane, and also, perhaps, the preference for the colour white. Certainly, to judge from the romances, the favourite colour of the horse in the Middle Ages was white. M. G. Huet,² discussing the lines which have just been quoted, calls attention to a somewhat similar description in the 'Carmen de Prodicione Guenonis,' preserved in a fifteenth century manuscript (Cotton, Titus A. XIX., fol. 153-5):

337—

Si quis equum, quis equi speciem, quis singula laudat?
 Illius ad laudem singula sufficiant:
 Horridus aspectus, auris brevis, ardua ceruix,
 Costaque proluxa, tibia recta sibi,
 Crus perlargum, pes cavus et pectus spaciosum.³

Both these Latin poems, M. Huet endeavours to show, borrowed their descriptions of the horse from the 'Chansons de gestes.' But as he wholly ignores the existence of classical prototypes, his argument is far from conclusive. That they may have been somewhat affected by the romances is, of course, possible, though none of the romances

¹ One recalls at once the 'ardua ceruix' of the 'Georgics.' But a line of Horace is even more to the point: 'quod pulcræ clunes, breve quod caput, ardua ceruix' ('Serm.,' Lib. I., ii., 89).

² 'Romania,' xxii., 538-40.

³ The poem has been printed in full by G. Paris, 'Romania,' XI., 465-518. M. Paris is surely mistaken in regarding this description as taken directly from the 'Chanson de Roland,' vv. 1652 ff.

give such a detailed description of the horse as that in the 'Certamen inter Phillidem et Floram.'¹

A word must be said at this point concerning the 'Amorous Contention of Phillis and Flora,' which Thos. Wright reprints in the Appendix of his volume,² from an old print of 1598. In stating that this poem is the work of 'R. S.,' Wright was deceived by the impudent assertion on the title-page of this edition. In point of fact, the 'Amorous Contention' was stolen outright from George Chapman, who had printed it in 1595 in the same volume with 'Ouid's Banquet of Sence,' under the heading: 'The amorous contention of "Phillis and Flora," translated out of a Latine coppie, written by a Fryer, Anno 1400.'³ It remained for Collier to confuse the matter still further. Noting resemblances between the description of the horse in the 'Amorous Contention' and that in 'Venus and Adonis,' he charges 'R. S.' with modelling these lines directly upon Shakespeare, entirely overlooking the fact that from first to last the 'Amorous Contention' closely translates the mediæval 'Certamen'!

¹ As elaborate as any are the descriptions in 'Gui de Bourgogne' (ed. Guissard et Michelant, Paris, 1859), vv. 2325-9, and in 'La Chanson des Saxons' (ed. F. Michel, 'Romans des Douze Pairs,' 1839, I., 139). For a summarized presentation of the traits of the horse in the romances, see F. Bangert, 'Die Tiere im alt-französischen Epos' (Stengel's Ausgabe und Abhandl., XXXIV.), pp. 48-50.

² 'Poems of Walter Mapes,' pp. 363-70.

³ I am under obligations to Mr. F. Madan for verifying this title from the copy of the 1595 edition of the 'Banquet of Sence' preserved in the Bodleian Library. In the 1875 edition of Chapman's Works this poem will be found at pp. 43-9.

Quite as difficult to classify as the Goliardic poet's description of the horse is that which stands in a late fifteenth century manuscript in the British Museum (Sloane, 1764). As the passage has never been printed I quote it in full (fol. 3) :

ffor to knowe an hors and the propertees that arun best in hym yong or old :—

The best colore is blacke baye wyt a gylt mowthe and gylt flankys and vnther y^e horsys sydys the same color so y^t hyss lyppis be full of rybbys for that sinifijt the hors fersse hertyd. Now to knowe the beawte of y^{is} hors se y^t he haue a wyte sterre in the forhed or a wyte feder on the nose or a wyte foote behynde and se that he haue a lytyl hedde and lene, and grett eyne, schorth herys, wyde nossethrellys, brode forhed, longhe at y^e rayne, thyn mane, brod brest and syde brawnyd and lene knees, brode leghys and thynne, grete senowys, schorte pastron and brode fote, schorthe backyd, syde Rybbyd and bygh Rowmpe, a longh stote and smale stonys in his qodd. And that he stond Rygte vppe on alle hys fete euerychon agens other And the[se] be y^e best properteys, etc.¹

Distinctly mediæval in conception are the lists of good points in which the horse is described by comparison with other animals.² According to one of these, 'A good horse must have XV propertyes and condicions, that is to witte, iij. of a man, iij. of a woman, iij. of a fox, iij. of an hare, and iij. of

¹ The scribe appears to have taken this list of good points from some treatise on the horse, for a little later (fol. 4a) he notes: 'Explicit liber condicionis equorum.' I am not able to identify this treatise.

² Descriptions of this type are found not only in England, but in Italy and Germany, and probably circulated throughout mediæval Europe.

an asse.¹ According to another, the number of properties was twenty-five: viz., 'iiii off a lyon, iiii of an ox, iiii off an asse, iiii off an hare and iiii of a fox, and v of a woman.'² Finally, in Anthony Fitzherbert's 'Boke of Husbandry' the list of properties is expanded to fifty-four: 'that is to say, ii. of a man, ii. of a bauson or a badger, iiii. of a lyon, ix. of an oxe, ix. of a hare, ix. of a foxe, ix. of an asse, and x. of a woman.'³ These descriptions by comparison, though agreeing in many points with the classical lists, are plainly designed by their half-humorous tone for popular circulation. But however widely they may have circulated, they appear to have exerted slight influence, or none at all, upon Elizabethan literary tradition, and for this reason may here be dismissed from further consideration.

Finally, there remain to be examined the numerous books on horsemanship which first made their appearance in Italy about the middle of the sixteenth century. Though one finds frequent reference in these treatises to Varro, Vergil, or Columella, the material in them is not drawn from classical tradition alone. Indeed, in compiling

¹ For the text of this description (from Lansdowne MS. 762) see W. H. Hulme, 'Mid. Eng. Harrowing of Hell,' E. E. T. S. Ext. Ser. C., p. xxv., note 1; it occurs also in Trin. Col. Camb. MS. O.9.38, fol. 49a.

² Printed by Hulme (*loc. cit.*) from Cotton MS. Galba E. ix.; it occurs also in Sloane MS. 1201, fol. 9a.

³ Ed. 1534, fol. 43b-44b. Of the items in Fitzherbert's list, no less than twenty-three are found in the 'XXV. propertes,' six more are found in the 'XV. propertyes,' and nine others appear in the list quoted above from Sloane MS. 1764. His fifty-four properties have evidently been compiled from several sources.

their lists of the points of the horse, the authors of these treatises appear to have depended more directly upon the mediæval veterinarians than upon the classical writers. The earliest and most important of these works on horsemanship is F. Grisone's '*Gli Ordini de Cavalcare*,' first published at Naples in 1550, and repeatedly reprinted. Grisone presents us with a list of no less than thirty 'points,' some of which are discussed with much detail.¹ In compiling this list he has freely mingled classical and mediæval tradition. Of the classical writers his most important source seems to be Columella. But his greatest indebtedness was not to Columella or any of the ancients, but to Ruffo. A translation of Grisone's treatise was published in London a few years later by Thomas Blundevill under the title: '*A new booke containing the arte of ryding, and breakinge greate Horses, together with the shapes and Figures of many and diuers kyndes of Byttes*,' etc.² Inasmuch as we are chiefly concerned with Grisone's description of the horse on account of its influence in England, I quote Blundevill's translation rather than the Italian text, somewhat abridging prolix details which do not concern us. The description occurs in chap. iii., 'What shape a good horse ought to haue.'

¹ In the edition of 1550 the points of the horse will be found on fol. 8-9.

² For this reference to Blundevill I am indebted to Professor William Ridgeway, author of '*The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*,' Cambridge, 1905. To my friend Mr. Stephen Gaselee, of Magdalene College, I am under obligation for calling my attention to Professor Ridgeway's book, and thus putting me on the track of this material.

A good horse then woulde haue a blacke, smothe, drie,
large, round, and hollowe houe

The Crowns about his houes would be smal and
heary.

His pasters short, and that neither to lowe nor yeat to
hyghe . . .

His ioyntes great, with long fewter lockes behynde,
whyche is a sygne of force.

His legges straight and broade.

His knees great, leane and plaine.

His thighes full of sinewes, the bones whereof would
be short, equal, iust and well proportioned . . .

His shoulders, longe, large, and full of fleashe.

His breast, large and rounde.

His neck rather long then shorte, . . . bendinge in
the midst . . .

His eares small or rather sharpe, and standinge righte
vppe . . .

His forehead leane and large.

His eyes blacke and greate.

The hollownesse of his browes well filled and shootinge
outwarde.

His Jawes slender and leane.

His nostrills so open and puffed vppe as you may se
the readde within, apt to receyue ayre.

His mouth great.

His mane would be thynne and longe . . .

His wythers or walleyes would not only be sharpe-
pointed, but also right and straight . . .

His backe would be shorte . . .

His sides would be longe and large . . .

His beelly long and great . . .

His flankes not gawnte, but full . . .

His Rompe rounde and plaine, wyth the fall of a litle
gutter . . .

His thighes large and longe, with bones well fashyoned
and full of fleashe on eyther side.

The hammes wherof if they be leane, dry and straight, and the houghes large and crooked like a hart, it is a signe of swiftnes.

His taile woulde be full of heares, and longe downe to the grounde, the tronchen wherof must be of a measurable bignes and wel couchid betwixte hys thighes . . .

Grisone's treatise was translated, not only into English, but also into French, Spanish, and German. Of its influence in France, interesting evidence appears in the description of the horse by Du Bartas¹ to which reference has already been made. For a careful comparison of the points enumerated in these lines establishes their direct dependence upon Grisone's list. The French poet, to be sure, condenses his description by omitting many points which do not serve his purpose. But the points which he retains not only agree closely with the corresponding items in Grisone's text, but to a considerable extent follow the same order.

Two other Italian treatises on horsemanship, which appeared not long after the 'Ordini de Cavalcare,' may be dismissed with a brief reference: Pasqual Caracciolo's 'La Gloria del Cavallo' (Venice, 1567) and Claudio Corte's 'Il Cavallarizzo' (Venice, 1573). The former appears to have had little or no influence in England—at least I have failed to note any reference to it by the Elizabethans. Corte's treatise, on the other hand, was translated into English in abridged form by Thomas Bedingfield in 1584,² but in this translation the

¹ 'La Seconde Semaine,' 1 Journee, Les Artifices.

² 'The Art of Riding . . . written at large in the Italian toong by Maister C.C. . . . Brieflie reduced into certaine English discourses.'

list of 'points' does not appear. Corte's list of points¹ is much shorter than that of Grisone, upon which, nevertheless, it seems to show some dependence. The latter half of Corte's description, it is interesting to note, closely follows Rusio's '*Liber Marescalcie*'—except in the matter of the mane. Here Corte deliberately returns to the opinion of the classical writers, with whom elsewhere in his treatise he repeatedly shows a first-hand acquaintance.²

We are now prepared to consider the relation of these catalogues of points to Shakespeare's description of the horse in '*Venus and Adonis*.' It is true, of course, that a young man who had but recently gone up from the country to London might be supposed to know something about horses outside of books. And many a vivid descriptive touch in this very poem bears witness to Shakespeare's close observation in the lanes and pastures of Warwickshire. But it is not with the picture as a whole that we are at present concerned, but merely with the two stanzas in which the points of the horse are formally catalogued. For convenience I quote the text of these lines (preserving the spelling of the first Quarto):

271— His eares vp prickt, his braided hanging mane
 Vpon his compast crest now stand on end,
 His nostrils drinke the aire, and forth againe
 As from a fornace, vapors doth he send:

¹ Lib. I., cap. 33, '*Come dee essere lo stallone.*'

² Thus it may be noted that Corte translates in full (ed. 1573, fol. 32^b) the description of the horse in Nemesian's '*Cynegeticon*'—certainly one of the lesser stars in this galaxy.

His eye which scornfully glisters like fire,
 Shewes his hote courage, and his high desire.

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295—

Round hooft, short ioynted, fetlocks shag, and long,
 Broad breast, full eye, small head, and nostrill wide,
 High crest, short eares, straight legs & passing strong,
 Thin mane, thicke taile, broad buttock, tender hide:
 Looke what a Horse should haue, he did not lack,
 Saue a proud rider on so proud a back.

It needs no argument, after the numerous catalogues of 'points' which we have examined, to establish the fact that Shakespeare's list is not an independent compilation. It is no longer a question of the influence of Du Bartas—or, if Professor Dodge prefers, of Du Bartas and Pulci. Underlying these lines in 'Venus and Adonis' we now recognize a literary tradition as to the points of the horse, whose origin is to be traced back ultimately to Rome and Greece. But the greater the number of similar catalogues in existence, the greater becomes the difficulty of determining the immediate point of contact between Shakespeare and this tradition.

Our task will be made easier if we begin by comparing the items in Shakespeare's list with those English texts which he could have easily consulted. The list of points in the Sloane MS. may be omitted, for the reason that, so far as I am aware, it was never put into print. Fitzherbert's 'Boke of Husbandry' may also be dismissed, first because it presents no special similarities to the lines in 'Venus and Adonis,' and secondly, because in arranging the points according to their

resemblance to other animals, it follows an altogether different plan. There remain to be considered, therefore, the following English texts, any one of which would easily have been accessible to Shakespeare: (1) 'Batman uppon Bartholome,' (2) Gooze's 'Foure Bookes of Husbandry,' (3) Blundevill's 'Arte of Ryding,' and (4) a second list by Blundevill, in which the points of the horse are briefly summarised, in Part 1 of his 'Fower chiefyst offices belongyng to Horsemanshippe,' first published at London in 1565.¹ In the 'Fower chiefyst Offices,' Blundevill's translation of Grisone, originally published separately, was also included as 'Part 2,' so that in this and subsequent editions both of Blundevill's lists were accessible in a single volume.

In order to bring out as clearly as possible the points of similarity between Shakespeare's phrases and those in the pre-Shakespearean texts, I have arranged them in the following parallel column, indicating by a figure in parenthesis the text from which the phrase in question is taken:

'VENUS AND ADONIS.'	PRE-SHAKESPEAREAN TEXTS.
Round hoof't	1. hoofe well pight and round 2. hoofes . . . hard and sound, round and hollowe 3. A blacke, smothe, drie, large, round and hollowe houe 4. rounde, smouth, blacke, harde, hollow, and sounding houes
short ioynted	3. his ioyntes great 4. great iointes

¹ A second edition appeared in 1570 and a third in 1580. Still other editions, later than 'Venus and Adonis,' may here be neglected.

'VENUS AND ADONIS.'

PRE-SHAKESPEAREAN TEXTS.

fetlocks shag and long

3. with long feawter lockes behynde
4. with longe fewerlockes

Broad breast

1. Broad breasted
2. brest greate and brode
3. his breast large and rounde
4. a brode brest

full eye

(275-6) His eye, which
scornfully glistere like
fire, Shewes his hote
courage.

1. eyen great
2. his eyes great, bluddy and fiery, and
standing out of his head, which is
a signe of quicknes and liuelynes.
3. his eyes black and greate
4. great eyes and blacke

small head

1. lytle head
2. had small and leane
4. a short and slender heade

nostrill wide

(273) His nostrils drinke
the aire

1. the nosethrills large
2. The nostrills must bee wyde the
better to receaue ayre
3. His nostrills so open and puffed vppe
as you may se the readde within,
apt to receyue ayre
4. wyde nosethriels

High crest

(272) his compast crest

3. his neck . . . bendinge in the midst
4. a necke . . . the crest wherof would
be rysing in the middes

short eares

(271) his eares vp-prickt

1. eares little and sharpe
2. The eares must bee shorte, standing
vpright and stirring
3. His eares small or rather sharpe, and
standinge right vppe
4. short eares and sharpe

straight legs and passing strong

2. The legges & the thyes . . . euen
straight and sound
3. His legges straight and broade
4. stronge legges

Thin mane

thicke taile

3. His mane would be thynne and long
2. His tayle would be longe
3. His taile would be full of heares and
longe downe to the ground
4. a long and bussbye tayle

broad buttock

2. His buttockes large and ful of fleshe
4. great round buttockes

tender hide

This parallel column, of course, is presented merely as a convenient means of comparison, and is not intended to imply that the passage in 'Venus and Adonis' was compiled on the basis of precisely these four texts. Who shall say that still other treatises containing similar descriptions of the horse may not have been circulating in England at the time Shakespeare's poem was written? Moreover, a number of the phrases in this list find equally close parallels in classical tradition.¹ But even when due allowance has been made for other possibilities, it is surely interesting to find practically every item in Shakespeare's description paralleled in these earlier English texts.

We may proceed further to note particularly one or two resemblances to Shakespeare which occur only in Blundevill's 'Arte of Ryding.' These two agree against the others in favouring the thin mane. Batman and the 'Foure Bookes of Husbandry,' on the other hand, give us a 'mane thicke'; and Blundevill himself, in his 'Fower chiefyst Offices,' varies from his previous catalogue by writing instead, 'a crispe main.' The thin mane first makes its appearance, as we have already seen, in the Middle Ages, and is directly opposed to classical tradition. In the sixteenth century there was a sharp difference of opinion among the authorities upon the question of the thin or the thick mane. Grisone, in expressing his preference for the former, recognised that others held the

¹ No less than six of these parallels appear in the text of Columella: 'ungulae rotundae, pectus latum, exiguum caput, nares apertae, auriculae breves et arrectae, cauda longa et setosa.'

contrary opinion, and endeavoured as best he could to reconcile the two views :

I crini rari & lunghi ; & non vitupero l'opinion di chi uuole che siano folti, perche non essendo souerchi, et in molta quantita, pur sono di stima : & se sono crespi ò ueramente calui dinotano più gagliardezza. Se fossero grossi egli sarebbe di robusta natura, cosi quanto più fossero sottili, tanto maggiormente dimostrerebbe segno di buon senso, & oprarsi leggiero, & di esser delicato, non troppo gagliardo nel soffrire.¹

On the other hand, Corte—very possibly with a direct allusion to Grisone in his reference to 'alcuno moderno'—defended the thick mane and supported his opinion by appealing to classical authorities :

Per il che non so come alcuno moderno tenga cosi buoni i caualli, che hanno *i crini sparsi*, per usar il suo proprio uocabulo : uolendo Vergilio, che gli habbia folti, & non rari, come molt' altri uogliono. non niego però, che i crini rari non siano anco di buono inditio, & che emedesimamte i lunghi & distesi et molli, non diano segno di buona, & piaceuole natura, perche si causano da natura humida, et temperata ; ma dico bene che se gli sparti, & crespi, dinotano uigore et forza per la calidità naturale, che dimostrano nel cauallo ; i grossi folti, & crespi maggior robustezza, & fortezza di complessione,

¹ Blundevill's translation is as follows : 'His mane would be thynne and longe, albeit I do not mislike the opinion of those that would haue it to be thicke, so that it be not ouerthycke, for as the thynnesse betokeneth apptnesse to be taught, so doth the indifferent thycknes betoken strength.' One may refer also to Pasqual Caracciolo's discussion of this question of the mane in his 'Gloria del Cavallo' (ed. 1567, p. 161).

ch'io sempre m'atterrei à questi con Vergilio, con Columella, & con Varrone.¹

The partisans of the thick mane, with the authority of classical tradition behind them, distinctly outnumbered their opponents. In fact, in all the descriptions of the horse in English previous to the appearance of 'Venus and Adonis' the thin mane occurs, so far as I am aware, only twice: in the Sloane MS. list, and in Blundevill's 'Arte of Ryding'—one of the best known books on horsemanship in Elizabethan England, and therefore a source which may easily have been known to Shakespeare. The 'thin mane' in 'Venus and Adonis,' then, points strongly, it seems to me, to the influence of Blundevill's treatise.² A further point of agreement between Shakespeare and Blundevill appears in the matter of the fetlocks. The other English texts have no

¹ 'Il Cavallerizzo,' ed. 1573, fol. 31^a. This paragraph may be translated: 'Therefore I cannot understand how a certain modern (writer) should take it as a good point in horses that they have "thin manes," to quote his own word. Vergil would have the mane thick, and not thin as many others prefer. Yet I do not deny that the thin mane may also be a good sign and further that a long, thin, soft mane may not indicate a good and gentle disposition, because produced by a humid and well-tempered nature. But if the thin and curly mane on account of the natural heat which it shows in a horse denotes vigor and strength, I affirm that a long, thick, curly mane indicates greater robustness and strength of constitution; and on this point I take my stand still with Vergil, Columella and Varro.'

² Blundevill's influence may be recognized also in the preference for the thin mane in Markham's 'Cavelarice.' Sylvester's insertion of 'thin' in his translation of Du Bartas is perhaps due to Blundevill, or possibly to the 'Venus and Adonis' itself.

corresponding item, nor will one find it in any of the other lists which have been cited.

It is altogether unlikely that Shakespeare's acquaintance with catalogues of the points of the horse was confined to Blundevill's treatise. But the evidence at hand does not enable us to identify positively any supplementary source. There is some slight evidence that he was also acquainted with Gooze's 'Foure Bookes of Husbandry,' though I put forward this suggestion with much diffidence. The description of the horse's eyes in the 'Foure Bookes of Husbandry,' as noted above, certainly offers an interesting parallel to lines 275-6 of the 'Venus and Adonis'; especially since it is one not frequently met with.¹ Moreover, if Shakespeare actually read the catalogue of points in the 'Foure Bookes,' his eye would necessarily have lighted upon Gooze's translation of the passage in the 'Georgics,' which directly followed it. Some of these lines have sufficient resemblance to lines 271-74 of the 'Venus and Adonis'² to justify quoting them in this connection:

if farr away

There happen any noyse, he stampe, and quiet cannot rest.
But praunceth here and there, as if some sprite were in
his brest.

His eares he sets upright, and from his nose the fiery flame
Doth seeme to come, while as he snuffes, & snorthes at
the same.

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¹ In classical tradition it appears only in Pollux's 'Onomasticon.'

² I have not included lines 265-70 in this comparison for the reason that these lines owe a more direct obligation to Marlowe's 'Hero and Leander' (2nd Sestiad, vv. 141-44).

He scraping standes, and making deep a hole, he pawes
the ground
Whiles as aloud his horned houfe, al hollowed seemes
to sound.


Whether Googe's translation supplied the medium or not, I cannot rid my mind of the suspicion that reminiscences of the passage in the 'Georgics' are present in Shakespeare's description of the horse.¹

Concerning these details opinion must always be more or less conjectural. Nor are they matters of importance for our present purpose. The object of the present paper has been to bring out the large element of tradition embodied in Shakespeare's catalogue of the points of the horse, and this object, I think, has been accomplished. It may possibly be discovered hereafter that Shakespeare's indebtedness was not to Blundevill's treatise, but to some source hitherto unrecognized. Yet, though the *results* of the source-hunter are never secure against the wider researches of those who follow him, such modifications do not weaken, but rather confirm, the validity of his *processes*. For the sole purpose of such investigation of sources is to clear away pre-conceptions and to build upon a foundation of established fact.

CARLETON BROWN.

¹ Another metrical translation of the 'Georgics,' by Abraham Fleming, was published in 1589.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

LTHOUGH not yet published, the lectures on Chateaubriand which M. Jules Lemaître has lately been delivering at the Sorbonne have already caused an extraordinary revival of interest in Chateaubriand and his work. And no wonder! For however literary fashions may change, from the point of view of literary history and evolution, Chateaubriand is the greatest name and the greatest influence of the nineteenth century in France. That fact is well insisted on by Victor Giraud in his interesting volume entitled, '*Nouvelles études sur Chateaubriand: essais d'histoire morale et littéraire.*' Giraud goes fully into the question of Chateaubriand's literary influence in the concluding chapter, '*Le sillage de Chateaubriand,*' where he demonstrates how the whole of '*romantisme*' is contained in Chateaubriand's work: it embodies historical, mediæval, exotic, and Catholic elements; individualism, lyrism, sentimentalism are there, and so is a passionate love of nature. Classical '*romantisme*' is there too, for Chateaubriand never repudiates the inheritance of a glorious past, but combines taste and reverence for the masterpieces of antiquity with eager search for what is new. The authors who form the French

romantic school proper owe to Chateaubriand the inspiration of their themes, their style, their conception of the world, and their manner of expressing that conception. At fourteen Victor Hugo said: 'Je veux être Chateaubriand—ou rien.' Théophile Gautier wrote:

'Chateaubriand peut être considéré comme l'aïeul ou, si vous l'aimez mieux, comme le Sachem du Romantisme en France. Dans le *Génie du Christianisme* il restaure la cathédrale gothique; dans les *Natchez*, il rouvrit la grande nature fermée; dans *René*, il inventa la mélancolie et la passion moderne.'

Giraud declares further that in the '*Génie du Christianisme*' Chateaubriand created criticism as it is understood to-day; in the '*Martyrs*' and the '*Études historiques*' he inaugurated a new method of understanding and writing history; and surely '*Atala*' and '*René*' are in some degree responsible for the exotic novels of the present day.

From Lamartine and De Vigny to Anatole France and Bourget, there is scarcely any French writer of note who does not owe something to Chateaubriand. Béranger began by being his disciple, and Sainte-Beuve, although he depreciated Chateaubriand, was clearly working under his influence when he produced '*Volupté*' and '*Joseph Delorme*.' Without '*Les Martyrs*' Flaubert would not have written '*Salammbô*,' and although as thinkers and writers they are as the poles asunder, Comte owes much to the '*Génie du Christianisme*.' It was Brunetière who began

the rehabilitation of Chateaubriand, whose fame between 1830 and 1880 had fallen low, and he declared that during three generations Chateaubriand exercised '*une royauté littéraire*' only to be compared with that of Voltaire.

A new conception of Chateaubriand is to be found in a volume by Albert Cassagne on '*La vie politique de François de Chateaubriand. Consulat, empire, première restauration.*' Cassagne here declares that Chateaubriand was '*homme d'action par essence et poète par accident,*' and shows him as a man of action, of the race of La Rochefoucauld and of Retz. The period treated in the book is from 1791 to 1815, and so, besides the hero, many interesting figures pass across its pages, among them Napoleon, De Bonald, Joubert, and Mme. de Beaumont. The book has something of the effect of an historical novel: our curiosity is excited by tales in which persons about whom we already know something play a considerable part.

Hitherto Chateaubriand's voluminous correspondence has been scattered through a number of works; the whole is now being collected and published by M. Louis Thomas as '*Correspondance générale de Chateaubriand,*' with an introduction and notes. The first volume, covering the years 1789-1817, has just appeared, and four more at least, we are told, will be required to complete the edition. Thomas claims that when the letters can be read and studied all together, they will form one of the masterpieces of French literature, worthy of a place among the most famous collections of letters, and will also add a new work to those of the

great prose writer himself, a work in which the man 's'y livre davantage, sans pose, sans apprêt' than in the 'Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe.'

Chateaubriand was a great writer, and is fully worthy of such memorials as these books. His merits cannot be obscured by so-called modern scientific criticism. For the true critic of art does not change; he will ever bring 'le libre et vivant témoignage d'un esprit sur un autre esprit, d'une âme sur une autre âme,' the testimony, of course, being combined with knowledge, exact information, and objective research. In Giraud's words, Chateaubriand's position in French literature may be summed up thus:

'Il y en a peut-être de plus complets, si l'on veut: Lamartine, Hugo et Musset ont mieux possédé les deux instruments, la prose et les vers. Il n'y en a pas, au total, de plus fécond et de plus grand. Parmi tous ceux qui ont manié notre langue française, il n'en est aucun qui l'aient honoré davantage, qui en aient mieux connu et utilisé les infinies ressources, qui en aient tiré des effets plus nouveaux et plus heureux.'

It is in this way that Chateaubriand should be studied. There is too great a tendency to pay attention to his love affairs, sentimental and otherwise, and to neglect his importance as a man of letters. But serious students of literature know that the human interest is not obscured by the historical sense; in fact, when the latter is employed in the right spirit, the former is enhanced.

In 'Jean Chapelain 1595-1674 un poète protecteur des lettres au XVII^e siècle,' an historical

and literary study based on unpublished documents, Georges Collas gives an exhaustive account of a man who deserves a place in the history of French literature and civilization, a man whose career must interest all students and admirers of the national period of French history. Born in the reign of Henri IV., he entered on his literary career when Richelieu became minister, and when the Hôtel Rambouillet was in its greatest glory. He attained the zenith of his fame in the year of Corneille's 'Cid' and Descartes' 'Discours sur la méthode.' He was Richelieu's literary adviser, a friend of Retz, and an original member of the French Academy. He died just as 'le Roi-soleil' was beginning his glorious reign, when Racine was drawing tears from the Court over his 'Iphigénie,' and Boileau was publishing his 'Art poétique.' Fond of literature, passionately attached to politics, interested in medicine and science, he was acquainted with all that was being done in Europe by poets and scholars. There was scarcely an author, certainly in France, whom he did not advise or criticise, scarcely an institution on which he did not leave his mark. Indeed, Chapelain was everything except an epic poet, yet despite Boileau's ridicule, he is worth studying as a man, an author, and a patron of letters.

Collas' book, which was suggested by Tamizey de Larroque's 'Lettres de Jean Chapelain,' is divided into three parts, 'Avant la Pucelle, La Pucelle, et Après la Pucelle.'

French scholars are still industriously carrying on their researches in English literature. I have before

me at this moment a volume of 500 large octavo pages on Herrick, a pamphlet on Browning, and a work entitled 'English Fairy Poetry,' the last written in excellent English. Of the three, the Herrick is the most important. It is the thesis on which M. Floris Delattre, Professor of English at the Lycée Charlemagne, was granted the doctorate of the University of Paris. The sub-title is 'Contribution à l'étude de la poésie lyrique en Angleterre au dix-septième siècle.' The book is divided into three parts, dealing respectively with 'l'homme,' 'le poète, and 'l'écrivain.' In the first Delattre has essayed a portrait of the man as he appeared to his contemporaries. The summing up of his character seems to me excellent. Herrick is a man of robust health; there is nothing languid about him:

'Il aime le vin capiteux et "non adultéré," la grosse chère, les bons compagnons. Il aime les femmes presque sans distinction. . . . Il jouit de la surface aimable des choses, sans prendre la peine de les approfondir pour les connaître. . . . Il y a en lui un élément calme, pondéré, positif même, qui le rattache à l'ancienne famille provinciale dont il est issu. . . . Il vit uniquement dans le tangible. . . . Il accepte les idées que sont courantes à l'époque, sans les vivifier jamais de son expérience individuelle.'

But, notwithstanding, in the domain of sensations and 'sentiments jolis,' Herrick is without a rival.

If Herrick's poetry possesses little originality, little depth, or little passion, sensibility and imagination predominate. He does not criticise life, he enjoys it; he is not a critic of life, but an artist of

life. He is especially the poet of human joy. Life as he represents it is—

‘une fête de mai, toute claire de soleil et de fleurs. Les abeilles y font entendre sans répit le bourdonnement de leurs rondes dorées. Le poète s’avance vers nous avec un sourire, jouant sur son pipeau des airs légers, alertes, capricieux. Il peuple de rêves jolis sa solitude. Il fait déborder le vallon de ses notes fraîches.’

Indeed, he pipes as though he would never grow old.

Where, however, Herrick is original is in his attitude to country life, and M. Delattre brings out with great clearness that feature of Herrick’s poems, one too seldom regarded by English critics, who are apt to neglect the fact that our poets appreciated Nature, even before the publication of ‘The Seasons.’ Herrick describes ‘la fraîcheur, la claire gaîté, la charme de la campagne qu’il habite,’ he is, in fact, the laureate of ‘la vieille glèbe d’Angleterre.’ He describes rural occupations with knowledge and delight, and as Delattre says, a ‘paysan malgré lui,’ he composed what may veritably be called English Georgics.

M. Delattre devotes a chapter to Herrick’s religious poems. The mixture of frank paganism and real devotion, which is one of the most striking characteristics of Herrick’s work, is perhaps not quite clearly brought out, but the critic shows in what way Herrick stands apart from the group of seventeenth century religious poets. He lays stress on Herrick’s indubitable sincerity, and declares that he did not write his ‘Noble Numbers’ from a sense

of duty, but 'en dépit de sa morale si peu chrétienne spontanément et par conviction.' At any rate, whatever was the moving cause, we owe to Herrick the triplet, characterised by Swinburne as 'divinely beautiful':

'We see Him come and know Him ours,
Who with His sunshine and His showers
Turns all the patient ground to flowers.'

The volume probably includes everything that needs to be known about Herrick and his work. The classification of the poems according to subject is most useful. Under the main heading, Herrick the poet of society, we have chapters on the king and court, friends, Devonshire peasants, on himself, women, and love. Under the heading, Herrick and the country, are chapters on pastoralism, rural life, folk-lore and fairy-lore; and under that of Herrick's wisdom, chapters on his moral and religious ideas. Technical criticism of him as a writer includes his debt to his forerunners, his style, versification, and the order and chronology of the *Hesperides*.

Lastly, M. Delattre is to be congratulated on his excellent translations, which form almost a third of the book. They are in a sort of rhythmical prose.

M. P. Berger, whose fine study of Blake is well known, has written a short pamphlet on Browning's poetry, eminently calculated to assist French readers to a right appreciation of it, and not unlikely to be useful to English students. It is a marvel of clear and concise criticism and explanation. He brings out very vividly Browning's wealth of characters:

‘Philosophes calmes ou sceptiques de l’antiquité, moines hargneux, savants subtils ou rêveurs de moyen âge, esprits enthousiastes et artistes de la Renaissance, hommes de notre temps surtout, convaincus ou indifférents, froids ou passionnés, âmes insignifiantes, esprits morbides, ambitieux sans scrupules, amoureux désespérés, apôtres enthousiastes de tout ce qui est grand et noble, philosophes et savants, martyrs et imposteurs, femmes aux âmes nobles et aux cœurs si pur, se pressant en foules lumineuses, âmes viles parfois, hommes aux instincts grossiers, aux intelligences obtuses et aux cœurs étroits.’

We are almost reminded, though in a different kind, of the ‘God’s plenty’ of Chaucer.

Berger sees, too, in Browning the poet of ‘modernism,’ although his personality is too strong to allow of strict labelling. The most striking point in Browning’s faith, according to this critic, is that the imperfections of man are a sign of his superior destiny; in a word, Browning expounds the optimism of evil. Therefore he is the most ‘fortifiant’ of poets. His peculiar genius is summed up by the critic in the phrase: ‘il n’est pour ainsi dire, ni poète ni philosophe, mais un peu de l’un et l’autre à la fois.’ But I take it that all great poets are philosophers in so far as their outlook on life passes beyond the trivial and ephemeral and fixes itself on the important and enduring.

History and its by-ways always fill a prominent place in French literature.

Pierre de Vaissière does not intend his book, ‘De quelques assassins. Récits du Temps des Troubles (XVI^e siècle),’ to be merely a portrait gallery of assassins, but to assist a clearer

understanding of the history of the times in which the dramas were enacted. The victims are there as well as their murderers: François de Guise, Coligny, Henry IV. The manner of death of such important persons, with the causes that led to it and the consequences that resulted, are here studied in detail. Among the assassins whose careers are described are Jean Poltrot, Charles de Louviers, Jean Ganourtz *dit* Besme, and Jacques Clément. Greater knowledge of such men will, according to Vaissière, 'rendre compte pas seulement de l'esprit des mœurs, et du caractère d'une époque, mais en même temps de bien des points ignorés ou mal connus de l'histoire politique.'

New facts and an original point of view are to be found in the Vicomte de Motey's 'Un héros de la grande armée, Jean-Gaspard Hulot de Collart, officier supérieur d'artillerie (1780-1854).' The work is based on Hulot's professional notes, reports, and private correspondence, as well as on that of his brother, Baron Hulot the general, and on the archives of the French War Office. There is no doubt that very often the history of a subordinate person or action helps to throw light on events that are well known and on the policy of the leaders. In addition, this very carefully prepared volume fully illustrates the truth of Taine's words: 'Plus j'étudie en histoire, plus j'attribue de prix aux textes de première main, *abondants, caractéristiques et bien classés.*'

The importance of the Emperor Paul I. in the history of Russia is well brought out by M. K. Waliszewski in his new work, 'Le fils de la grande

Catherine, Paul I^{er} empereur de Russie, sa vie, son règne et sa mort 1754-1801 d'après des documents nouveaux et en grande partie inédits.' Paul I. of Russia is one of the most enigmatic figures in history. Was he or was he not mad? However that may be, his reign is much more than a mere dramatic episode in the history of modern Russia, his work had an extended compass and a lasting effect: it has survived the workman. It may have the aspect of paradox, even of caricature; but are not paradox and caricature present to-day in the 'spectacle que nous offre l'immense empire, Etat constitutionnel et parlementaire, gouverné par un souverain autocrate, qui passe pour n'avoir rien abdiqué de ses droits'? The book is most interesting, and certainly helpful to a better understanding of modern Russia.

Two books that make delightful reading of the lighter kind are the second volume of Emile Bergerat's 'Souvenirs d'un enfant de Paris' (1872-1880), and Charles Samaran's 'D'Artagnan, capitaine des mousquetaires du roi.' In the first we have sprightly accounts of all the interesting people in Paris during those years of light-hearted, gay bohemianism. The book, however, is not suitable for the reading of the young people our dramatic censors seek so carefully to protect. M. Samaran gives us the true history of a hero of romance who was in reality 'un cadet de Gascogne plein de ressources, un soldat d'élite de l'ancienne France, pénétré de ses devoirs, parfait serviteur de son roi, prêt à verser son sang pour lui, à tout moment.'

* * * * *

The following recently published books deserve attention :—

Les contemporains étrangers. Par Maurice Muret.

The author declares that 'le cosmopolitisme littéraire procure à ceux qui le pratiquent des plaisirs intellectuels raffinés, multipliés à l'infini.' Bernard Shaw is the only English contemporary noticed.

L'œuvre scientifique de Blaise Pascal. Bibliographie critique et analyse de tous les travaux qui s'y rapportent. Par Albert Maire.

The preface is by Pierre Duhem. The book is a thorough piece of work—the author is the Librarian of the Sorbonne—and indispensable to students of the history of science.

Du Luthéranisme au Protestantisme. Evolution de Luther de 1517 à 1528. Par Léon Cristiani.

Not a biography: the life is only dealt with so far as is necessary for following the inward drama that led to a new era in the history of Christianity.

Geschichte der Alttestamentlichen Religion kritisch dargestellt. Von Eduard König.

The purpose of the work is to assist historical research.

Godeau, évêque de Grasse et de Vence (1605-1672). Première partie. Jeunesse de Godeau et son épiscopat à Grasse de 1636 à 1639. Par Georges Doublet.

The work will be completed in two further parts, 1640-53, and 1654-72. Godeau was one of the first members of the French Academy.

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Le directoire et la paix de l'Europe des traités de Bâle à la deuxième Coalition 1795-99. Par Raymond Guyot.

The author, founding his conclusions on new documents studied in a new way, thinks that Europe would have been quite willing in 1797 to have accepted definitive peace.

Die amerikanische Literatur. Von Dr. C. Alphonso Smith.

Lectures given at the University of Berlin, 1910-11. A very useful brief survey of the history and evolution of American literature.

W. A. Mozart. Sa vie musicale et son œuvre de l'enfance à la pleine maturité, 1750-77. Par T. de Wyzewa and G. de Saint-Foix.

An 'essai de biographie critique.' It contains a new chronological catalogue of Mozart's works.

Richard Strauss. Von Max Steinitzer.

A good account of the modern composer's work.

Monuments de l'art ancien russe. Published by the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts at St. Petersburg.

A sumptuous volume with fine illustrations, many in colour.

Von Apelles zu Böcklin und weiter. Gesammelte kunstgeschichtliche Aufsätze, Vorträge und Besprechungen. Von Karl Woermann. Vol. I.

This volume goes to the seventeenth century, and among the subjects treated are the art of antiquity, the art of the Italian renaissance, and old German art.

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Among new novels the following are the most important :—

Les frontières du cœur. Par Victor Margueritte.

Du mouton pour les petits oiseaux. Par Léon de Tinseau.

La neige sur les pas. Par Henry Bordeaux.

A variation on the theme that forgiveness is better than revenge.

Monsieur de Lourdines. Par Alphonse de Chateaubriant.

This novel, which relates the life of a 'gentilhomme campagnard,' has obtained the 'Prix Goncourt.'

La bonne fortune de Toto. Par Gyp.

An amusing comedy in the dialogue form usual with this writer on contemporary Parisian manners.

La serre de l'aigle. Par Georges Ohnet.


A mixture of history and legend, the combination being treated as romance.

Die Burgkinder. Von Rudolf Herzog.

Die Göttinnen oder die drei Romane der Herzogin von Assy. Von Heinrich Mann.

ELIZABETH LEE.

THE SO-CALLED GUTENBERG DOCUMENTS.¹

N the foregoing articles² I have a second time endeavoured to analyse and explain the contents of all the documents, whether authentic or forged, that relate or are presumed to relate to Johann Gutenberg of Mainz, whom some would fain regard as the inventor of printing with moveable types. My first essay on these documents, published in 1882 (London, Quaritch) under the title 'Gutenberg, was he the Inventor of Printing?' was incomplete, as I had been unable to find the original Notarial Instrument of the lawsuit of 1455 between Fust and Gutenberg. It was rediscovered in 1889, and since then various treatises on Gutenberg and the incunabula attributed to him, and new data bearing on the Haarlem claims to the invention, have shed so much light on the question of the invention of printing, that a fresh examination of the documents relating to Gutenberg's career seemed to me both possible and desirable. I believe I have made it now clear that these documents (which cover the period 1420 to 1468-74) do not justify us in ascribing to him the

¹ Continued from page 89.

² See 'THE LIBRARY,' 1909, p. 152 *sqq.*, p. 253 *sqq.*, p. 386 *sqq.*; 1911, p. 183 *sqq.*, p. 289 *sqq.*, p. 396 *sqq.*; 1912, p. 64 *sqq.*

invention of printing, either at Strassburg or at Mainz, and that we may even reasonably ask whether Gutenberg ever printed anything.¹

In the present essay I principally deal with Gutenberg's supposed claims as based on the twenty-seven documents generally assumed to be genuine, which Dr. Karl Schorbach, the Strassburg Librarian, has recently interpreted and published in the Supplement to the 'Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen' for 1900. Incidentally, however, I also treat of the types and books which some of the chief German bibliographers of the present day ascribe, without adequate evidence, to Gutenberg.

The documents assumed to be genuine I have numbered I to XXVII, in accordance with Schorbach's numbering, so that those who may wish to compare my explanations with his, which are more elaborate and replete with admiration for Gutenberg, will merely have to turn to the corresponding number in his treatise.

But besides the twenty-seven documents supposed to be authentic, there are eight others (including pieces of wood of a supposed Gutenberg-press of 1441) now known to be forgeries. These are not included in Schorbach's numbering, because he mentions some of them only in notes, the others not at all. But these fabrications are here dealt with in their apparent chronological order, so as to warn those who desire to study the arguments for and against Gutenberg's claims, that with respect to this subject we stand on

¹ See also my article 'Typography' in the new 'Encyclopædia Britannica.'

slippery ground, all the more so as these eight fictitious documents were forged at different times, by different persons and in various places, for the purpose of filling up gaps in Gutenberg's life, or representing him as residing in certain towns and at times suitable to the forger's notions. When we bear this alarming ramification of forgery in mind, we may the more readily appreciate the suspicions which rest even on some of the documents supposed to be genuine.

The eight fabrications appear here under the numbers IA (24th March, 1424, a fictitious letter from Gutenberg to his sister); XIA (1441, *relics* of a Gutenberg-press!); XIXA (the year 1453 written in Arabic numerals of old form at the foot of the last leaf of a copy of the 42-line Bible now in the Klemm collection at Leipzig); XXA (forged copies of the 1455 Letters of Indulgence found in Herr Culemann's possession after his death); and XXIIA (1458), XXIIb (1459), XXIIc (1460), XXIVA (1463), all meant to prove that Gutenberg had continued to print at Mainz after his separation from Fust and Schoeffer; XXVIA (2nd February, 1468) is not a forgery, but an entry of the name 'Johannes zum Ginsefleis,' which perhaps relates to a granduncle of Gutenberg's, but has erroneously been connected with him.

Even some of the twenty-seven documents supposed to be genuine are suspected or declared to be frauds in Germany. For instance, Dr. Bockenheim rejects at least four of them as fictions—namely, Nos. VI (14th March, 1434); X (the breach of promise case of 1437), XI (the Strassburg

Law-suit of 1439), and, to crown all, the famous Law-suit of 6th November, 1455 (No. XX), the 'palladium' of the Gutenberg claims.

As No. VI, if genuine, would only prove that Gutenberg resided at Strassburg in 1434, we say no more about it, nor about the Nos. I-V, VII-IX, XII, XIV-XVI, and XIX, which merely give us further clues as to his existence or his whereabouts. Nor can No. X (the breach of promise case of 1437) help us much. But it is well to remember that Schoepflin (of whom we speak later on) repeatedly alluded to it, in 1740 (twice), in 1741, 1760, and 1761, describing it as a 'Charta,' or as having been 'communicated' to him by Wencker. But although of every other document known to him he published the text in full, he merely alluded to No. X. And when, in 1761, he was asked for a copy of this 'Charta,' he replied that it did not exist, and that the information was only contained in an 'annotation.' But not even this 'annotation' was produced, and nobody has ever seen it. Yet, on the strength or in amplification of it, Schoepflin stated in print that Gutenberg had married the lady, had brought up a family and had children in 1444.

When we leave aside the fictitious documents and those that cannot assist us in the controversy, there remain (besides the Law-suit of 1439) two groups of documents of which we have to say a few more words.

The first group consists of the documents XIII (1442), XVII (1442-58), XVIII (1448), XX (1455), XXII (1457-61), XXIII (1461), XXIV

(1461-74), XXV (1465), XXVII (1468). They show Gutenberg's impecunious and embarrassed circumstances from 1442 onwards; and how in 1442, 1448, 1450 and 1452 he contracted one debt after another and failed to repay any of them, or do the work for which he apparently borrowed the money.

The second group consists of the two remaining documents XXI (1457) and XXVI (1467-8), which show that Gutenberg was closely connected with the St. Victor Stift, near Mainz, and that to his sojourn in that Monastery, in combination with some other circumstances, we can trace the fiction that he was the inventor of printing.

As regards the Records of the Strassburg Lawsuit of 1439 (No. XI) we cannot speak with certainty either for or against their authenticity, as the three Registers (A, B, C) in which they were said to have been written down have perished. Volume C, alleged to have contained the Sentence of the Strassburg Senate, was burnt in 1793 by the Revolutionists, apparently without ever having been seen by anybody (except Wencker who 'discovered' it), not even by Schoepflin, who in 1760 published this sentence for the first time, as 'communicated' to him by Wencker. The two other Registers (A and B) found, according to Schoepflin, in 1745¹ by himself and the Strassburg

¹ Schoepflin speaks only of finding Vol. A in 1745. But he refers ('Vind. typ.,' p. 27, Doc. IV) to Vol. B as 'Protocollum Senatus majoris,' and published Beildeck's complaint and the List of Witnesses from it without saying when and where he discovered it.

Archivist Barthius, were burnt in 1870 during the siege of Strassburg.

I treated of this law-suit in my 'Gutenberg, was he the Inventor of Printing?' (p. 23 *sqq.*, p. 185 *sqq.*), and gave various reasons for suspecting it. A renewed examination has more than confirmed my suspicions, and in 'THE LIBRARY' for 1909, p. 253 *sqq.*, I pointed out the mysterious and unnatural silence which the litigants, their numerous witnesses (all persons in different walks of life), and even the judges preserve regarding the nature and scope of the 'work' or the 'arts' in dispute.

The most trifling things are described with great minuteness. We hear that Gutenberg was manufacturing 'looking-glasses,' and had taught the 'polishing of stones.' A press, pieces, buttons, tools, formes, lead, etc., are mentioned, but no one says for what purpose these things were used; we only learn that there is question of a 'work,' a 'trade,' an 'art,' etc. Gutenberg had some 'secrets,' but though the plaintiff and his witnesses seem to have been acquainted with them, and had every reason to reveal them to the Court in order to put pressure on the defendant, no one took the trouble to do so, while the judges appear to have made no enquiries about these secrets.

Apart from this strange vagueness and the indefinite expressions of everyone involved in this trial, Bockenheimer points out (1) that proceedings of this description were contrary to the legal usages prevailing at Strassburg in 1436-9, so that the Records appear to have been drawn up by some person or persons ignorant of the legal, social

and local customs of that period; (2) that there are various inconsistencies and improbabilities in the Records; and (3) that no Records of Strassburg law-suits earlier than the sixteenth century are in existence.

We must further bear in mind that these Records began to make their appearance just at a time (1740) when several cities of Germany celebrated a tercentenary of a supposed Mainz invention; but Schoepflin and his friends, on the other hand, contemplated the celebration of a tercentenary of a Strassburg invention, of which people had been speaking and writing for more than two centuries.

The assertion that printing was invented there appears to have been first made by Jac. Wimpfeling, who, while residing at Heidelberg (together with Adam Gelthuss, a relation of Gutenberg's), said in an epigram, published at Mainz in 1499, that Johan Gensfleisch (Ansicarus) had invented printing at Mainz. But in 1501, when he resided at Strassburg and wished to please the Senate of that City, he dedicated to them his 'Germania,' stating on p. 43 of that work, that 'Strassburg excelled through the origin of the art of printing though it was perfected at Mainz.' In 1502, in his 'Epithoma Germanorum,' Cap. lxxv. (not published till 1505), he wrote that Joan Gutenberg of Strassburg invented printing at Strassburg in 1440, but perfected it at Mainz. In 1508 he said ('Catal. Episc. Argent.') that 'under Bishop Robertus the art was invented, though incomplete, by a certain Strassburger, who went to Mainz, joined others in investigating that art, and under

the guidance of Joan Genszfleisch, who was blind from old age, completed and finished it in the house Gutenberg.'

In 1521 Hier. Gebwiler asserted (in 'Panegir. Argent. 1521,' p. 19) that 'Mentel invented printing 74 years ago (= 1447), though the Mainz people ascribe the invention to Johan "Faust,"' and he assumed in a later MS. treatise that 'the art was first secretly invented (*excogitata*) by Mentel at Strassburg, and then first attempted (*tentata*) at Mainz, about 1440.'

Wimpheling's statement of 1502 was copied in 1537 by the Strassburg theologian Caspar Hedio (in 'Paral.'), who gave 1446 as the year of the invention; but in 1549 (Chronicle IV. 633) said that Gutenberg invented it at Mainz in 1450. At last Daniel Specklin (in a MS. Chronicle of Strassburg, c. 1580) stated that 'Johan Mentel invented the art in 1440, his brother-in-law Peter Schoeffer and Mart. Flack expanded it; his servant Johan Gensfleisch robbed him of the art, went secretly to Mainz, and there, assisted by the rich Gutenberg, perfected it; Mentel died broken-hearted, and Gensfleisch was punished by blindness.'

This story of a Strassburg invention, which, based on nothing (except perhaps the erroneous notion that Gutenberg was born at Strassburg), we see arise in 1501, lived on, was amplified and distorted, and cannot be said to be extinguished even now. Schoepflin believed it, though he favoured Gutenberg as the inventor, not Mentel. It was his theory and that of his friends, and of

their predecessors, that the invention had taken place, in an incomplete form and in secret, at Strassburg, *before* it was perfected at Mainz. But as everybody in his time talked of a Mainz date 1440-50, and others had done so before him, only a document that alluded to a mysterious mechanical process, already in operation before the earliest Mainz date, could serve his purpose. He was aware of the Documents of 1441 and 1442 (Nos. XII and XIII) discovered a few years before; but though they showed that Gutenberg was at Strassburg during these years, there was nothing mysterious in them, nor anything about a mechanism or an art. The sentence of the Strassburg Senate, however, then coming to light (!), provided him with everything.

In his *Programma*, published in 1740, when several cities celebrated the tercentenary of the (Mainz) invention, he pointed out that 'by choosing this year, the glory of the invention was unwittingly ascribed to Strassburg, as at the time of the birth of typography Gutenberg resided there, supported a family (!) there, and applied himself to the invention (!) and practice of several arts, for which purpose he formed various associations, investigating wondrous things, as we learn from the Strassburg judges when, in 1439, they decided a dispute between him and his associates to whom he had communicated his secrets. 'What forbids us,' he asks, 'to conjecture that among these secrets were also the rudiments of the art of typography?' In the same year, in a French dissertation on the origin of printing, he

repeated the above statements, and even amplified them by asserting that in 1444 Gutenberg had 'children' at Strassburg.

From these two dissertations published in 1740, when Schoepflin professed to know only the Sentence of the Senate, it is clear that he saw no harm in making statements about Gutenberg's 'family,' his 'marriage' and 'children,' which were not justified by any of his documents, and that he considered such vague and indefinite words in the Sentence as 'lead,' 'polish stones,' 'adventure,' 'Gutenberg teaching an art,' to indicate the 'rudiments of the typographical art.'

We do not know what Schoepflin's contemporaries thought of his *Programma* and dissertation. It requires courage to say that the *Sentence* referred to an 'invention of printing' or to 'printing,' unless one reads it with the preconceived idea that Gutenberg *was* the inventor, in which case the merest hint would suffice for the purpose.

But it is strange that no one remarked at the time that such a *Verdict* or *Sentence*, dated 12th December, 1439, and pronounced by the Senate of an important city like Strassburg, must have been preceded, about the same time, by a 'trial,' the proceedings of which would also be recorded. Neither Schoepflin nor Wencker said anything of such an obvious inference. Once on the scent by the finding of this 'Sentence,' and having the other Protocols of the Senate as much at hand as the Register in which Wencker professed to have found the Sentence, a few minutes or a few days would have sufficed for finding the other portions

(the Depositions, etc.) of the Records. Yet, according to Schoepflin's own words, five years elapsed before he accidentally (!), in the presence of Barthius (the successor of Wencker, who had died in 1743), found the other volume (A) of 1439.

Schorbach, who upholds the genuineness of the Records, remarks ('Festschrift,' in Supplem. to 'Centralbl.' 1900, p. 214) that 'if Schoepflin had fabricated (erdichtet) the acts, he would have clearly represented Gutenberg as having invented printing at Strassburg, as was his conviction (?). The industry, however, exercised there by Gutenberg is not distinctly called "book-printing" in the Records, but described in expressions so obscure and vague that their interpretation causes the greatest difficulties.'

That the wording of the Records, at least of their essential part, is 'vague,' will be admitted by all who wish to know the nature and object of Gutenberg's enterprises, more especially of his third. But this very vagueness arouses suspicion, because it is unnatural.

If, however, we could surmount our difficulties and suspicions, and took the Records as authentic, even so they would not justify us in connecting Gutenberg with 'printing,' were it not for three lines, which do not speak of '*book*-printing,' nor say, in so many words, that Gutenberg invented that art at Strassburg, but would, if genuine, make it clear that Gutenberg had 'printed,' or, to be precise, had employed someone to 'print' for him, at Strassburg as early as 1436—that is, fully

fourteen years before he could have begun to print at Mainz. These three much-discussed lines purport to be the deposition of Hans Dünne, a goldsmith, one of Gutenberg's own witnesses, and to have been written in (the now destroyed) volume A, between the depositions of two other Gutenberg witnesses, Anth. Heilmann and Meidehart Stocker. De Laborde, in 1840, made a tracing of these three lines (Plate II., No. 10 of 'Débuts de l'imprimerie à Strassburg') which is above suspicion, whatever else may be suspected. According to that tracing and Schoepflin's text, they read: 'Item, Hanns Dünne the goldsmith has said that three years ago or thereabout he had earned from Gutenberg about hundred guilders solely (for) that which belongs to printing.'¹

In harmony with the indifference and mystery conspicuous throughout the whole of the Records, no one asked Dünne *what* or *where* he had 'printed.' But waiving this point, there is nothing obscure in these three lines, and if they were genuine, and formed part of genuine Records, they would be an authentic and clear testimony of Gutenberg having exercised the art of 'printing' at Strassburg as early as 1436 (!)—that is, fourteen (!) years before Gutenberg borrowed money from Johan Fust for making 'tools,' when he had nothing in the world to give to Fust as a pledge except these 'unmade' tools; eighteen (!) years before the first printed (Mainz) date (1454) on record; twenty (!) years

¹ 'Item Hanns Dünne der goltsmyt hat geseit das er vor dryen/ Joren oder dobij Gutemberg by den hundert gulden abe verdienet habe/alleine das zu dem trucken gehöret.'

before the first printed Bible (B42) was in the hands of the public, and one and twenty (!) years before Fust and Schoeffer commenced to advertise and describe the art of printing and its mechanism as a *new* art.

It is remarkable that the German bibliographers and all others who believe in this Law-suit of 1436-9, and accept the Records as genuine, yet cling to Mainz as the birth-place of printing, though it is clear that it could not have begun there before 1450, if so early.

The merest glance, however, at the three lines, as traced by De Laborde, suffices to realise that the third (all-important) line (*alleine das zu dem trucken gehöret*) has been added, by a different hand, to the first two lines of Dünne's deposition. The *e*'s alone show the difference between the writing of the two hands. It is impossible now to say who wrote the first two lines and who added the third, which was clearly added by way of afterthought. The form of the letters of the first two lines of this deposition also differs from that of the other passages traced by De Laborde. We have no contemporary Strassburg MSS. at our disposal to compare them with De Laborde's tracings, nor any writings of Schoepflin and Wencker, to ascertain whether they wrote these three lines or not. One thing is certain: if we have to reject one paragraph or even one line of these Records on account of its having been tampered with, we are bound to reject the whole of them, when there are so many other weighty grounds for suspecting them. De Laborde's tracings do not enable us to see whether there were

any *erasures* in the Register (A), but they show alterations, corrections and additions enough to augment, not diminish, our suspicion. According to Laborde's tracing No. 3, the name 'gutenberg' was added in the margin; likewise the words: 'that no one may know what it is, because he would not like that anybody saw it,' which were evidently intended to indicate Gutenberg's 'secret.' The line preceding this passage ran: 'min Juncker Hanns Guttemberg hatt uch gebetten das,' but it was, according to Schoepflin, deleted.

As has been pointed out before, a careful consideration of the text of the Records, and of all the circumstances surrounding them, makes it almost impossible not to agree with Dr. Bockenheimer's conclusions (published in 1900 at Mainz) that this 1439 Law-suit is a fiction from beginning to end. If it were otherwise we should long ago have found in the Annals of Strassburg or elsewhere some trace, however faint, of this curious printing-office (?), which was the subject of a long law-suit involving no fewer than forty or fifty different people (men and women), not to speak of several magistrates; which is alleged to have existed for at least three years, and to have been first of all a workshop for the polishing of stones and the manufacture of looking-glasses for pilgrimages, besides a number of other arts, trades, etc.

But who fabricated these Records? Everything points to Wencker and Schoepflin; to say more is at present impossible.

The Helmasperger Notarial protocol (No. XX), dated 6th November, 1455, records some pro-

ceedings in the law-suit brought by Johann Fust against Johann Gutenberg, for the recovery of two sums of money, with interest thereon, which he had advanced to Gutenberg. Fust's depositions occupy the lines 23 to 37, and are immediately followed by Gutenberg's reply in the lines 37 to 47.

This document is regarded in Germany as the most important of all the Gutenberg documents. The original seems to have been about 1600 in the hands of 'Faust' von Aschaffenburg, who pretended to descend from Joh. 'Fust,' and in Köhler's possession in 1741. Since then nothing but transcripts of it were known, till it was rediscovered in 1889, when we were told that thenceforth no unbiassed person could entertain any doubts as to Gutenberg's claims to the honour of the invention.

The text of this document, discussed in 'THE LIBRARY' for 1909 (p. 403 *sqq.*) and 1911 (p. 399 *sqq.*), shows that Fust, according to the amount of interest which he claimed in November, 1455, must have made his first advance to Gutenberg in August, 1450, his second in December, 1452.

We have likewise discussed most of the strange and tower-high theories built on this Instrument regarding Gutenberg's supposed invention, activity and performances, from 1450 to 1455, or before that time or later, and trust to have shown that, during the proceedings recorded in this Document, not a single word was uttered by Fust, or the judges, or the witnesses, not even by Gutenberg himself, to indicate that he was then regarded as the inventor of printing, though it was all important to the latter to have said so if it had been true. I have

also endeavoured to make it clear that all the circumstances recorded in the Document and elsewhere tend to prove that Gutenberg could not have printed anything before 1450, and that, if he did print anything at all during or after that year, it could not have been much. For our present summary it will suffice to repeat here the leading points of the Document.

Fust had stated to the judges, on some unnamed day before 6th November, 1455, as follows:

(1) he had, in good faith, furnished Gutenberg [about the 15th August, 1450] with 800 gulden in gold, where-with (Gutenberg) *should* 'finish the work'; (2) Fust himself was unconcerned whether the work cost more or less; (3) Gutenberg *should* give (Fust) 6 g. interest on each hundred g.; (4) (Fust) had borrowed these 800 g. for Gutenberg on interest, and given them to him; (5) Gutenberg had not been content with them and complained that he had not yet had them all; (6) Fust, willing to please Gutenberg, had furnished him [about the 1st December, 1452] with 800 g. more than he (Fust), according to the tenor of the said schedule, had been obliged to Gutenberg; (7-12) as Fust himself had had to borrow this money and pay 6 % interest on it, and interest on the interest, and as Gutenberg had never paid any interest, Fust claimed 2020 gulden from him.

Fust nowhere explains what kind of 'work' he had expected Gutenberg to 'finish' with the money advanced by him in 1450 and 1452. But whatever it may have been, it is obvious that Gutenberg had *not* 'finished' it, either on the 6th November, 1455, or on the previous day of the trial (at the end of October, 1455?). If he had done so, Fust would have had no grounds for demanding the

repayment of his two advances from Gutenberg. Or, if the latter had 'finished' it, or finished it in part, and Fust had yet been bold and unscrupulous enough to sue Gutenberg for repayment, the latter must, no doubt, have had an opportunity of pleading and proving to the Court that he 'had finished the work' for which Fust had advanced the money. But there is no trace of such pleading in Gutenberg's reply, which though it gives a few more details regarding 'the work,' also shows that it could not have been 'finished,' and Gutenberg, like Fust, leaves us in the dark as to whether it had ever been commenced.

Gutenberg stated :

(13) Fust *should* have furnished him with 800 gulden wherewith he [Gutenberg] *should* prepare and make his 'apparatus' [or 'tools'], and he *should* be content with the money, and might devote it to his [own] use; (14) such tools *should* be a pledge to Fust; (15) Fust *should* give him annually 300 g. for maintenance, and also furnish workmen's wages, house-rent, parchment, paper, ink, etc.; (16) if then, further, they did not agree, he *should* return Fust his 800 g. and his tools *should* be free; (17) it was to be well understood that he *should* finish *such* work [i.e., his apparatus or tools] with the money which he [Fust] *had lent him* on his pledge, and (18) he hopes that he had not been bound to [Fust] to spend such 800 g. on 'the work of the books'; (19) Fust had told him that he desired not to take interest; (20) nor had these 800 g. all and at once come to him, in accordance with the contents of the schedule, as [Fust] had pretended in the first article of his claim; (21) of the additional 800 g. he wished to render Fust an account; (22) hence he allows Fust no interest, nor usury, and hopes, therefore, not to be legally indebted to him.

We see that Gutenberg, referring to Fust's share in the business, uses the same word *should* which Fust had used in speaking of Gutenberg's obligations, that is: Gutenberg told the Tribunal (clause 13) that Fust *should* have given him 800 gulden with which he (Gutenberg) *should* make his tools, and (clause 15) Fust *should* annually give him 300 g. for maintenance, etc., etc. Gutenberg likewise uses this word 'should' when speaking of his own obligations: he *should* make his tools with the 800 g., and *should* be content with this money (clause 13); and these tools *should* be Fust's security, etc., etc. (clauses 14-17).

But he does not use this conditional 'should' in clause 17, where he states that Fust *had lent him* money on his pledge; nor in clause 20, where he says that the first 800 g. *had not come* all and at once to him; nor in clause 21, where he states that of the 'additional' 800 g. he wished to give Fust an account.

Therefore, Gutenberg acknowledges to have received from Fust (1) a portion of the first 800, and (2) the whole of the second 800 g. These two points alone are certain; all else *should* have been done, or *should* have been given. But there is no trace of anything having been done or given. It is clear that by this expression *should* the two parties allude to their respective undertakings under their agreement of 1450. It is equally clear that Fust alone had carried out at least some of his obligations when he advanced money for the 'work' in 1450 and 1452. But he had evidently declined, at some time or other, to sink more money in

Gutenberg's undertaking till he saw some result of it. Fust certainly never supplied the annual 300 gulden which Gutenberg had expected from him for his maintenance; nor could he have furnished Gutenberg with workmen's wages, house-rent, etc. (clause 15), for if he had done so he would have added such costly extras to his advances in his account, with the interest thereon.

On the other hand, it is clear that Gutenberg never made his 'tools,' for if he had done so he must be supposed to have delivered them to Fust, to whom he had pledged them even before they were made. And if they had been delivered to Fust, the latter could not have sued Gutenberg for the repayment of his (first) advance, at least not without Gutenberg pleading that he had made them and delivered to Fust. Gutenberg had, indeed, reserved to himself the right to 'redeem' his pledge (that is, his 'tools') by repaying Fust his first 800 gulden. But there is not a word in the whole document to show that Gutenberg had done anything of the kind.

Moreover, Gutenberg's pleading (clause 20) that he had not received the whole of Fust's first 800 gulden (for which he was to manufacture his tools), or at once at the outset of the agreement, shows that for this reason he considered himself released from the obligation of making them.

In clause 17 Gutenberg himself emphasises the fact that he was to finish his tools with the 800 gulden which Fust had lent him on his pledge (*i.e.*, his tools), and he adds (in clause 18) that he hoped that he had not been bound to Fust

to spend such 800 gulden on the 'work of the books.' This clause is the only one which speaks of 'books,' and combined with clause 17, it seems to show that Gutenberg wished to separate *the making of his tools*, to which he was bound, from a 'work of the books,' to which he was not bound, or which was to come afterwards. But as he had not 'finished' the tools pledged to Fust, and supposed to have been intended for the printing of books, it follows that he never had any tools or apparatus for printing. The 'work of the books' could not refer to 'books' printed by Gutenberg before 1450, because the Notarial Instrument shows that in that year he was penniless, and had no property, certainly no press, no types, or anything else to offer to his money-lender, except tools which he had still to make. Nor could Gutenberg have printed books in another office by the help of other people, as Fust may be supposed to have kept an eye on the person so heavily indebted to him.

The verdict of the judges (see 'THE LIBRARY,' 1911, p. 405 *sqq.*) gives us no further light. Gutenberg was to render an account of all his receipts, also of the disbursements which he had laid out on the 'work for the profit of them both'; it also speaks of their 'common good.' Fust in his oath says that he had taken up 1550 gulden, which Gutenberg had received, and which has also gone on 'our common work'; and that of this borrowed money, that had not gone on 'the work of us both,' he demanded interest in accordance with the verdict. But the Sentence does not say,

nor even imply, that anything had been done or left undone, and is, therefore, much more obscure than the depositions of Fust and Gutenberg. Hence we must infer that Gutenberg, not having manufactured his tools, could not have printed anything, either alone or in conjunction with Fust or anybody else.

We may analyze the Helmasperger Record of the Lawsuit between Fust and Gutenberg as much as we please; we may stretch its words and their meaning to the utmost; there is not a syllable to indicate that Gutenberg had invented the art of printing with moveable types.

As to Gutenberg's supposed activity and ceaseless energy of which we hear so much, he evidently spent five years without making the work for which Fust had advanced him money. During that time Fust had apparently waited patiently for some result, though he had not given or done as much as Gutenberg had expected from him. If it had been otherwise the legal proceedings between the two men in November, 1455, would have revealed it, if nothing else. Under the circumstances Fust cannot be blamed for having taken proceedings against Gutenberg; and the latter, after having practically subsisted on borrowed money from 1442 to 1455, was bankrupt in 1457-8, unable to repay his loans or to pay interest on them.

In harmony with the documents—which prove that they know nothing of an invention of printing, nor of Gutenberg as an inventor of that art, either at Strassburg or at Mainz, and also that he

could not have printed before 1450, and very little, if anything at all, after that year—are the colophons of the earliest Mainz books with printed dates (1457 to 1468). They show that during these twelve years the art of printing, far from being treated in that city as a secret, was openly proclaimed and advertised there as a ‘by-invention of printing,’ and still more distinctly as a ‘*new* art of printing’; its mechanism is clearly described, and it is pointed out that books were no longer produced by the pen. Such advertisements appear natural and appropriate now that we know that the new art had recently become known at Mainz, not when we assume that Gutenberg had been printing there since 1443, and at Strassburg already before 1436, as some German bibliographers contend. But, though the new art is so distinctly described and advertised at Mainz, we never hear of a ‘Mainz invention’ or an ‘inventor.’ Some expressions in the colophons of the ‘Grammatica’ of 1466, the ‘Grammatica’ of 1468, and the ‘Justinianus’ of 1468, which are considered to be allusions to an invention or an inventor, can be explained in a more natural way. The Archbishop of Mainz rewards Gutenberg in 1465 for ‘services’ rendered to him, but does not say what kind of services they were, nor does he speak of him as an ‘inventor.’ Dr. Homery, who seems to have assisted Gutenberg with some apparatus for printing, and acknowledges to have received this apparatus back from the Mainz Archbishop after Gutenberg’s death in 1468, says nothing about an invention of printing.

At the end of 1468, however, a testimony appears saying that the art of printing 'seemed to have arisen in Germany.' This first allusion to a German invention of printing was made, not at Mainz nor in Germany, but at Rome, in Cardinal Cusa's dedicatory epistle to St. Jerome's Epistles. In 1470 Guil. Fichet, in an edition of the Letters of Gasparinus, printed at Paris, says that Germany is acquainted with the art of printing; Erhard Windsberg says the same also at Paris in 1470. In 1471 Ludov. Carbo said that the Germans had invented printing, and in the same year Nicolas Jenson is mentioned as the inventor of printing. But *circa* 1472 the same Guil. Fichet, who in 1470 only knows that Germany is 'acquainted' with printing, writes a letter to Rob. Gaguin, printed at Paris, in which he says that 'it was rumoured that in Germany, not far from Mainz, a certain Johan Gutenberg first of all invented printing.' In May, 1476, in Peter Schoeffer's third edition of the 'Justinian,' Mainz is for the first time mentioned as the 'inventrix prima' of the art. All later testimonies (see the article 'Typography' in the new 'Encyclopædia Britannica') amplify or corrupt these testimonies.

Therefore, the earliest statements about an invention of printing and an inventor (1468, etc.) come from Italy and France, not from Germany or Mainz; they were made on the strength of Fust and Schoeffer's colophons. Fichet's more precise statement of 1472, four years after Gutenberg's death, was thought to have come from 'Bertolff von Hanauwe,' who appears in Guten-

berg's lawsuit as his servant, and who was printing at Basel in 1468; but it came more likely from information which Fichet obtained from the St. Victor Cathedral, *near* Mainz, as he speaks of the art having been invented 'not far from that town.'

Of this Cathedral Gutenberg became at some time or other (perhaps on his return to Mainz in 1448) a lay-brother, and remained so till his death. From document No. XXI, dated 21st June, 1457 (scarcely two years after his lawsuit with Fust), we see that he was named as a witness in a Notarial Instrument whereby property situated in the village of Bodenheim, near Mainz, was sold to Johann Gensfleisch, junior, husband of the daughter of Gutenberg's brother. The purchaser bound himself to pay annually thirty malters of wheat to the St. Victor Stift. The contract was executed in the house of Leonhard Mengoiss, canon of the Stift. The vellum original, now in the Mainz Town Library, had formerly belonged to the Stift. In the 'Liber fraternitatis' of this same Stift were two undated (but perhaps of 1467-8) entries of his name.

Ivo Wittig, a canon and keeper of the seal of this same Cathedral, erected in the house 'Zum Gutenberg' a memorial stone and epitaph in honour of Gutenberg in 1504; and in 1505, when Joh. Schoeffer published his German Livy, Wittig seems to have written for this work a dedication to the Emperor Maximilian, in which it is stated that Gutenberg was the inventor of printing. This work was reprinted eight times with the same

dedication, while other people at Mainz proclaimed that Fust had invented the art. In this same St. Victor Stift a press was erected in 1541 by Fr. Behem, and his press-reader, Joh. Arnold Bergel, published in that same year an 'Encomium chalcographiae,' in which the lawsuit between Fust and Gutenberg is alluded to for the first time (!!), and the invention of printing ascribed to Gutenberg, but in the year 1450(!).

May we not reasonably infer from Gutenberg's close connection with this Stift that he had been talking there of his having been the first printer in Mainz, and that in this way he came to be regarded as the inventor of printing?


The story of Gutenberg having been the inventor of printing, after having been current from 1472 to 1499, was contradicted in the latter year in the most precise manner by Ulr. Zell, the first printer of Cologne, in the Cologne Chronicle: Gutenberg had only invented printing as it was then (in 1499) generally used, but the prefiguration of the art was found in the Donatuses printed before that time (1450) in Holland.

According to the Haarlem tradition, recorded by Junius, Mainz obtained the art of printing by theft from Haarlem. Without further evidence, however, we do not argue here about this part of the tradition. But recent researches, and the discovery of important additional data (which I hope to publish elsewhere), show that Junius, when telling the manner in which the invention of printing was made at Haarlem, recorded a living tradition based on facts, not mere local gossip or

legendary hearsay. Nearly every point mentioned by him is corroborated by the group of about fifty incunabula known as Costeriana. Even the wooden types mentioned by him can no longer be regarded as an impossibility, since the practicability and facility of making such types and printing with them has satisfactorily been proved by the practical engineer, John Eliot Hodgkin, in vol. II (p. 39 *sqq.*) of his magnificent 'Rariora,' recently published in London (Sampson Low, Marston & Co.).

J. H. HESSELS.

A YEAR'S USE OF THE 'ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA.'

N the months that have elapsed since the eleventh edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' made its appearance, there has been sufficient time to test the quality of the work and its suitability for its intended purposes. It challenges attention as the largest body of data contributed by experts in every department of human knowledge and investigation. Not only is it written by acknowledged authorities, but it has been fashioned with a definite intention of co-ordination and proportion in the treatment of the mass of subjects dealt with. In the nature of things such an ideal of symmetry can only be approximately successful. Nor could the personal element of style be eliminated, even if it were desirable, for every man has his own way of communicating his knowledge or his ideas. Even grave divines vary from the concise to the flowery; and some, like good Thomas Fuller, cannot exclude flashes of humour from their most serious themes, and their readers as a rule are glad of this inability. But it is a good thing that the editors have kept before them an ideal of proportion as well as of accuracy.

With the remarkable widening of the field of knowledge and investigation that characterised the last century, the importance of encyclopædias has grown immensely. They are no longer a luxury, but a necessity for the large and increasing number who may rightly claim to belong to the educated classes. The present writer, who has contributed to half a dozen encyclopædias, and who has had occasion to consult at least a score, regards no household as complete without one. The children in the home should be encouraged to use the encyclopædia in all their many questionings as to the why and the wherefore, the past and the present of things. Indeed one of the many defects of our modern systems of education is that the pupils in elementary schools, and the students in places of secondary and higher education, are not systematically taught how to use books of reference—indeed, they are scarcely taught how to use books at all. People often go to libraries, and after looking in a subject catalogue for the topic in which they are interested and failing to find the magic word, depart with their desire for information unsatisfied, when all the time the encyclopædia in the open case at their very elbows would have told them exactly what they wanted to know. And it sometimes happens that people do not find in an encyclopædia that which they are seeking, because they do not look in the right place. The tendency, however, of the modern encyclopædia is towards the form of the ‘Konversations-Lexikon,’ and this is certainly the easiest for casual reference.

What then, it will be asked, is the average

student’s verdict after a year’s use of the ‘Encyclopædia Britannica’? Most readers will, I believe, say it is one of satisfaction. It reaches a high standard of accurate and full statement on important matters, and rarely fails to give some information even on an obscure or little-known subject. Many of its articles are masterpieces of concise exposition, and with the aid of the Index much useful information may be gathered even on subjects on which there is no special article.

The Index must always be consulted (1) if the searcher is in doubt as to where the data he wants is likely to be placed, (2) if he does not find the desired article in the general alphabet, and also (3) if he desires or thinks it possible that there may be side-lights in other articles. Thus, F. F. von Kotzebue’s biography comes in vol. xv., but in vol. viii. will be found Dr. A. W. Ward’s brief but weighty estimate of his works. So a student of the book of ‘Esther’ will need to consult not only that word, but also the articles ‘Bible,’ ‘Thousand and One Nights,’ for its supposed Persian source, and ‘Targums,’ for two commentaries—of a kind. What outsider to such studies would suppose that there was any connecting link between ‘godly Queen Esther’ and Shirazade? If the student wants to see the influence that the wonderful *megillah* of the Jewish maiden who became a queen has had on two men of genius, he should consult the articles on Handel and Racine. And for the association of her name with the Feast of Lots he must turn to the article ‘Purim.’ So for the Ahikar legends and literature,

the reader must see the articles on 'Achiacharus,' 'Syriac Literature,' and 'Tobit,' before he has exhausted the information the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' can give him.

The notes which follow represent the experiences of a single reader, and can only be offered as such. In the treatment of 'King's Evil,' the writer has restricted himself too strictly to its English history, for the claim of royalty to the healing power was not confined to the British monarchs or to those of France. The 'Cursing Well' of Llaneilian is not overlooked, but an article on Holy Wells would have been acceptable.

The article on Bibliomancy is far too meagre, for divination by books has extended far and wide, and is not a subject to be dismissed with a reference to the *sortes Homericæ* and *sortes Virgilianæ*. The Mohammedans use the 'Koran' and the poems of Hafiz, the Hindoos employ the 'Ramayana' and the 'Vedas.' From the earliest ages of the Hebrew and Gentile peoples down to this present day of the enlightened twentieth century divination by books has been practised.

The biography of De Quincey opens with the oft corrected error that he was born at Greenheys, whereas he himself tells us that he was born in the town of Manchester. J. R. Findlay's account was a good one when written, and is a good one still; but it would have been better to have had a fresh article, embodying the result of what has been ascertained in more recent years. It is a pity that there is no reference to Mr. John Albert Green's very useful De Quincey bibliography. The notice

of Acontius, which now appears under the heading of Aconcio, is an improvement on that which appeared in earlier editions; but it does not mention his book, ‘Una essortatione al timor di Dio,’ long regarded as lost, and of which the unique copy was secured for the British Museum by the late Dr. Garnett, and is described in ‘Three Hundred notable Books,’ the volume which commemorates his Keepership of the Department of of Printed Books.

The name of Edward Edwards is omitted from the biographies. This is rather unjust to the Father of English Municipal Libraries, who was also a contributor to former editions of the ‘Encyclopædia Britannica.’ He is not mentioned in the article on ‘Libraries,’ which again retails the foolish fable that Sir Walter Raleigh visited Dr. Dee in the building which is now Chetham’s Hospital at Manchester. The great municipal libraries of Glasgow, Liverpool, and Manchester are not even named. Dr. Robert Watt is omitted, but William Thomas Lowndes is included. The short notice of Quérard does not mention the English life of him by Ralph Thomas. In the account of Thomas Frognall Dibdin his poems and his novel on ‘Cranmer’ are ignored.

In Dr. Moses Gaster’s excellent account of the gypsies the collection of newspaper cuttings bequeathed by Godfrey Leland to the British Museum is noted, but not the fact that Bataillard’s remarkable collection of printed and MS. material for Romany history was bought by the Manchester City Library. Yet it is probably the most im-

portant in existence. The only reference to Grimod de la Reynière is in the article on Cookery. The place is appropriate enough; but the extraordinary man perhaps deserved a fuller notice. In the composite article on S. T. Coleridge there is no reference either to Haney's or to Shepherd's Bibliography. There are two bibliographies of Mrs. Gaskell, but neither of them is mentioned in the article on that delightful novelist. It is an elementary duty for a writer of a literary biography to note the existence of any bibliography of his hero's works. One of the best of individual bibliographies is the late Rev. John Hyde's 'Swedenborg Bibliography,' and this is duly cited in the article on the Swedish seer. It is one of the good signs of the times that these bibliographies of single authors are increasing. There cannot be too many of them, if they are careful and honest. The article on Proclamations would have been very different, it may be conjectured, if fate had allowed the writer to foresee the appearance of two volumes of the 'Bibliotheca Lindesiana,' devoted to that important but little-known topic. Of Friedrich Laun there is no notice either under his pen-name or his family name of Schultze. Yet some of his stories have served as a basis for De Quincey's humorous narratives.

If it is desired to know something of the history and organisation of the Society of Antiquaries, the data supplied by the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' will not be found very satisfactory. For that and for most of the learned societies all that is available is a name, with or without a list of publications.

There is, as a rule, no hint as to the rules or qualifications for membership. ‘Academies,’ we read, ‘have been supplanted socially by the modern club, and intellectually by societies devoted to special branches of science. Those that survive from the past serve, like the Heralds’ College, to set an official stamp on literary and scientific merit.’ What does this mean exactly? Is the Heralds’ College an Academy? And on what merit does it set an official stamp? It is at all events certain that in Great Britain there is no institution disposing of such large money prizes as those available for French men of letters at the hands of the academies.

A pleasant feature is the excellent series of sketches of the literature of various languages. Thus the article on Portuguese Literature enables us to see Gil Vicente and Camillo Castello Branco in their several places in the Lusitanian Parnassus, whilst the separate articles on those authors show their individual achievements. Too little attention is paid in this country to the early developments of the drama in Portugal, and it is to be hoped that the contributions to a better knowledge contained in the ‘Encyclopædia Britannica’ will have an effect in directing students to an attractive and unhackneyed field of research. Apropos of that remarkable but undisciplined genius Castello Branco, it is strange that his ‘Romance of a Rich Man’ has never been translated into English. His life is full of contrasts; he was born out of wedlock, had a struggling career, abandoned the idea of entering the priesthood, gained a peerage, received a

national pension, and died by his own hand. There are none of his romances so full of unexpected romance as his own stormy career.

The notice of Edwin Waugh, who was the poet-laureate, so to speak, of the Lancashire folk-speech, is less adequate than that of Fritz Reuter, who may be said to occupy a similar position as the interpreter of the Mecklenburg dialect. But the dialect writers are a somewhat neglected race, even in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' although there is a capital sketch of the English dialects. It does not appear to be known to the writers on Alexander John Ellis, to whom the science of phonetics owes so much, that his first venture into literature was a privately printed volume of verse. It is a pity that there is no full biography of a man who made such large sacrifices in the interests of the science of which he was so great a master. His friend and colleague Dr. F. J. Furnivall has been more fortunate. The notice of Jasmin does not mention the life of him by Smiles, and ignores not only the well-intentioned, but somewhat wooden, translations in that volume, but also Longfellow's fine version of 'The Blind Girl of Castel-Cuillé.' Where good English translations exist they should always be mentioned. Longfellow's is a fine one. Cornelius Felton, in a letter printed in the 'Final Memorials of Longfellow,' gives a vivid description of Jasmin's fascinating personality. The 'barber-poet' was a true descendant of the troubadours.

It will not be supposed that these jottings—and they could easily be multiplied—are offered in a captious spirit; they are not, but as the result of

a regular use of the ‘Encyclopædia Britannica.’ No one has a deeper sense of its value than the present writer. It is, when all deductions have been made, the most useful of all books of reference, and represents the combination of learning, research, co-operation and organisation in a higher degree than perhaps any other of the monumental works of literature and science. It is the high-tide mark of human knowledge. And it is knowledge brought to the service of all.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

ALBRECHT PFISTER OF BAMBERG.¹

ALBRECHT PFISTER, of Bamberg, like Gutenberg and other patriarchs of early printing, has for centuries continued to be *magni nominis umbra*, although he has a double claim to attention as being the first printer both of illustrated books and of books in the German vernacular. It was, therefore, a happy thought of Dr. Zedler's to devote himself to the task of lightening the darkness that surrounds this figure, and all students of incunabula have reason to be grateful to him for the volume under review. It contains 113 pages of text, and 23 plates of facsimiles, besides other illustrations, and displays as conspicuously as ever the author's extreme thoroughness and capacity for taking pains.

The bulk of Dr. Zedler's monograph is devoted to a detailed examination, first from the typographic and then from the linguistic point of view, of the nine editions known to have issued from Pfister's press. Only two of these are dated (in 1461 and 1462), and only two signed with the printer's name; but Dr. Zedler's analysis of the internal

¹ 'Die Bamberger Pfisterdrucke und die 36zeilige Bibel,' von Prof. Dr. Gottfried Zedler. (Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, nos. x., xi.)

evidence has enabled him to arrange all the nine with sufficient certainty in chronological order. The sequence starts with an issue of the Ackermann von Böhmen, which survives only in a single copy now at Wolfenbüttel, and which shows many shortcomings in the presswork and setting up, such as can only be due to the printer's inexperience. Then follow in order the 'Wolfenbüttel' issue of Boner's Edelstein (February, 1461), the Vier Historien (May, 1462), a German and a Latin Biblia Pauperum, a second issue of the Ackermann, a second German Biblia Pauperum, the 'Berlin' issue of the Edelstein (published in facsimile by the Graphische Gesellschaft some years ago, with an introduction by Dr. Kristeller), and finally a German Belial, the only one of the series which contains no illustrations. Dr. Zedler's industry has brought together an extraordinary number of minute points of typographical evidence in support of his conclusions, and he has been fortunate enough to find among them no serious contradictions, such as too often stultify attempts to fix the sequence of undated incunabula. It is, however, worth remarking that, by taking but three salient facts out of the mass of Dr. Zedler's data—viz. (1) the irregular presswork of the first Ackermann, (2) the evident priority of the Wolfenbüttel over the Berlin Boner shown by the woodcuts, and already suggested in the 'LIBRARY'S' notice of the Berlin facsimile, combined with (3) the distribution of watermarks in each book—we have already sufficient evidence to deduce the same order for the books as Dr. Zedler arrives at.

In this case, at any rate, therefore, the half is not so very much less than the whole—a comforting reflection to those who are conscious of not possessing Dr. Zedler's patience in marshalling multitudes of impalpable details. As to Pfister's presswork generally, Dr. Zedler shows that it was constantly improving, and that he managed to get very satisfactory results out of type that had lost its sharpness even before the 36-line Bible was completed. Incidentally, the theory formerly put forward that Pfister was himself the printer of the Bible is here definitely disposed of by the evidence of the first Ackermann. Although this book was certainly printed later than the Bible, the multifarious 'sorts' of the type are used in it more or less at random, and prove that Pfister was as yet a novice in their manipulation. Dr. Zedler illustrates his contentions by a series of facsimiles which include specimens of every book of the series except the Berlin Edelstein. The reproductions seem very satisfactory, with the exception of plate xxi., where for some unexplained reason 20 lines of the type measure fully 3-5 mm. more than elsewhere. There is also an inaccuracy on p. 3 of the text, where the first edition of the Ackermann is described as containing 18, instead of 24, leaves.

The examination of Pfister's orthography and dialect makes its chief appeal to students of German literature. Dr. Zedler maintains that Pfister edited his texts with more than ordinary care, developing his orthography systematically, and here and there making emendations of his own. There seems, however, to be a not inconsiderable

number of inconsistencies and variations which Dr. Zedler himself admits, and accident or the idiosyncrasies of composers may perhaps play a more important part in the matter than he would allow. Certainly it is not quite easy to believe that a man who could write such straightforward, if quaint, verse as the rhyming colophon of the *Vier Historien* was really doing his editorial best in the astonishing 'explanation' of Latin law terms on the second page of the *Belial* (p. 39); but this is perhaps scarcely a fair argument, since Dr. Zedler holds on other grounds that the *Belial* shows evident signs of haste and negligence.

The second main section of Dr. Zedler's work, although it comprises only twelve pages, is in point of fact of paramount interest and importance, inasmuch as the information contained in it was hitherto entirely unknown to students of the subject. The point of departure is a notice in the fourth volume, published in 1900, of Looshorn's 'History of the Diocese of Bamberg,' which tells us how in the year 1448 the Chapter of Bamberg Cathedral was about to elect a 'Dompropst' in the room of one Martin von Liechtenstein, who had been incapacitated by illness for several years. A protest against this proceeding, as being contrary to a decree of the Lateran Council, was made by the precentor, Georg von Schaumburg, who had acted as *locum tenens* for Liechtenstein during his illness, and this protest was formally lodged with the Bishop, on behalf of Schaumburg, by his procurator, 'Albertus Pfister, clericus coniugatus Bambergensis diocesis.' Twelve years later, in a

document dated 2nd September, 1460, the name of Pfister occurs once more as that of the secretary of Schaumburg, who had lately himself become Bishop of Bamberg. To these references in Loos-horn Dr. Zedler, by assiduous researches among the Bamberg archives, has been able to add some others. Two of them merely supply a few further details of Pfister's appearance as Schaumburg's procurator on 10th September and 28th September, 1448. The rest, however, are of much greater importance, as they concern the very period during which printing was going on at Bamberg. In looking through the book containing the records of feudal grants made by Bishop Georg, Dr. Zedler came upon two marginal references to a certain quire in another part of the book, which both describe this quire as fairly written by 'the late Albrecht Pfister' (ettwan Albertus Pfister, Albrecht Pfister selig). The second of the marginal references is concerned with a grant made on 13th April, 1466, and according to Dr. Zedler has every appearance of having been written about the same time. If this is correct (and there seems no reason to doubt it), we have conclusive evidence that Pfister was already dead by that date. Further, on examining the portion of the book proved by the marginal notes to be written by Pfister, it was found that his handwriting covers sixteen leaves, comprising records of grants made between 8th January and 11th November, 1460, and occurs nowhere else in the volume. Dr. Zedler suggests that the increasing preoccupation of Pfister with his printing

office, which according to him began its activity about the middle of 1460, caused him to give up his secretarial duties at the end of this year, and this seems probable enough in itself. At the same time, it is a little difficult to reconcile with the calculations made elsewhere in the book as to the time taken by Pfister to print each of his issues. We know from the dates in the respective colophons that fifteen months elapsed between the completion of the Wolfenbüttel Boner (February, 1461) and that of the Vier Historien (May, 1462), and Dr. Zedler inclines to think (p. 43) that the latter book was the only product of the press during that period. But if (as Dr. Zedler says, no doubt correctly) it was the preparation of the woodcuts, rather than the actual printing, which took up most of the time, then the Wolfenbüttel Boner, which contains 101 cuts as compared with 50 (61 with repeats) in the Vier Historien, ought to have taken about two years and a half to complete, and the date of the first Ackermann (and incidentally that of the 36-line Bible) would be thrown as far back as 1458. It is surely more probable that Pfister was not occupied during fifteen months solely with a comparatively small book like the Vier Historien, but produced besides some other book, now lost. Such a total loss would not be very surprising, considering that even of the extant Pfister books none have survived in more than three copies. But be this as it may, there can be no sort of reasonable doubt that Dr. Zedler is right in his identification of Albrecht Pfister the printer with

Albrecht Pfister the married cleric and secretary to the Bishop of Bamberg, and he is heartily to be congratulated on the happy results of his labours.

More debatable ground is reached in the last section of the monograph, in which Dr. Zedler elaborates his theory that Gutenberg himself, whose finances had by 1457 become hopelessly embarrassed, fled in that year from Mainz to Bamberg, where he printed the 36-line Bible; and this having also proved a disastrous speculation, that he abandoned his type and press and fled back again to Mainz, where he was somehow put in a position to make a fresh start with the Catholicon in 1460. All this is, of course, highly controversial, and it will be sufficient here to mention one or two pieces of evidence given by Dr. Zedler in support of Bamberg as the Bible's place of origin: (1) Of the ten different watermarks found in the Bible none are known to occur in contemporary manuscripts of Mainz origin, while several have been discovered by the author among local manuscripts at Bamberg; (2) all copies of the Bible which bear a mark of ownership came either from Bamberg itself or from some Bavarian monastery; the fragments also were mostly found in monasteries of the Bamberg district; (3) fragments of a printed quire register of the Bible, previously unknown, were discovered by Dr. Zedler and Dr. Freys in Bamberg and the neighbourhood.

J. VICTOR SCHOLDERER.

REVIEWS.

Oxford Books: a bibliography of printed works relating to the University and City of Oxford, or printed or published there. With appendixes, annals and illustrations. Vol. 2. Oxford Literature 1450-1640, and 1641-1650. By Falconer Madan. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. pp. xvi., 712. Price 25s.

IN this second volume on Oxford books, Mr. Madan has substantially carried forward the bibliography of Oxford to which he has devoted the leisure of his life as whole-heartedly as he has devoted his working hours to Bodley and the University. The interest of the new volume is composite. It supplements 'The Early Oxford Press' (Mr. Madan's Catalogue of books printed at Oxford '1468' to 1640, issued seventeen years ago, henceforth to be known as 'Oxford Books. Vol. I.') by adding to it an account of books about Oxford printed elsewhere than at Oxford itself, and also brief, but very interesting 'annals' of Oxford history for each year from 1450 to 1640. A single year, 1641, is then treated in the way which Mr. Madan intended to be normal, the entries under it consisting of (i.) annals, (ii.) descriptions of 'primary' or important books, (iii.) shorter notices of minor pieces, and (iv.) a full record

of the Oxford Press for that year. In 1642 Mr. Madan is overtaken by the Civil War, which brought to Oxford the King and his Court, and no small part of the Royalist army, and kept them there until the King's flight and the subsequent capitulation of the city in June, 1646. The number of pieces here chronicled as issued during this period is no fewer than 886, and the supreme interest of Mr. Madan's bibliography rests on the fact that he has read, or at least skimmed, them all, and with excellent judgment indicated their contents and picked out their plums. Recourse was lightly had to the press, and the result is a picture of the happenings of these four years as they presented themselves to the King's party at Oxford, with a framework of purely University life.

While the main interest of Mr. Madan's book is historical, it is bibliographically important not only for its descriptions and collations, but for its admirable detective work in exposing the spuriousness of the Oxford imprints on many pamphlets and documents really printed in London. As to these, Mr. Madan writes:

As soon as royalist printers in London were impeded or intimidated in their work, they had to choose between giving no imprint at all and giving a false imprint: and the advantages of the latter course secured its general adoption. The pamphlet-readers of London must therefore have been under the impression, from 1642 to 1644, that large numbers of Civil War Tracts on the King's side were smuggled into the City from Oxford, whereas the majority were simply printed or reprinted in London, with counterfeit Oxford imprints. Out of 191 Oxford

imprints in 1642, no less than 58 are London counterfeits; in 1643, 41 out of 238; and in 1644, 24 out of 145. At one period (March 25-April 17, 1644) there are as many false imprints as genuine.

While some London books on which Oxford imprints have been found were themselves originals, in other cases a real Oxford edition existed which the London publisher reprinted without thinking it necessary to explain his own share in the business. Altogether a pretty tangle was created, and Mr. Madan is warmly to be congratulated on the skill with which he has unravelled it.

National Bibliographies: a descriptive catalogue of the works which register the books published in each country. By Robert Alexander Peddie. Grafton & Co. pp. vi., 34. Price 5s.

Mr. Peddie's brief account of the existing National Bibliographies, and of the various works by which the lack of complete National Bibliographies is to some extent supplied, appears (save for a few misprints) to be accurate and useful as far as it goes, but it certainly does not go nearly so far as the price asked for it would reasonably lead a purchaser to expect. When there is very little information to be given, Mr. Peddie cheerfully gives it. When there is much information, which would take trouble to collect and space to set forth, Mr. Peddie looks the situation in the face and passes on. Thus under Canada he states 'there is

no general catalogue of the books published in Canada, but for the province of Quebec there are two catalogues which, though rather summary in form, purport to be inclusive,' and these he describes. On the other hand, under Italy, after noting a similar deficiency, he states 'there are many lists of authors belonging to various towns and provinces with catalogues of their works,' but makes no attempt to enumerate them, though such a list would be very useful. Under the Argentine Republic he mentions Señor Medina's '*Historia y bibliografía de la imprenta en Buenos Aires*,' but under Great Britain there is no mention of any of the three editions of the '*Typographical Antiquities*' of Joseph Ames, nor of the works of Mr. Madan and Mr. Bowes on books printed at Oxford and Cambridge, nor of a dozen other books which, in a five shilling treatise on National Bibliographies, might reasonably claim to be mentioned; even Watt's '*Bibliotheca Britannica*' is not thought worthy of mention. In a book at this price the treatment of Great Britain, which here occupies a bare three pages, should have been at least as full as that in Professor Arber's pioneer article in '*Bibliographica*.' Neither this, by the way, nor the two works of Mr. Growoll on Booktrade Bibliography in England and the United States, are even referred to, though in giving a list of books on any subject it is imperative to include any earlier bibliographies. Altogether this is a disappointing piece of work, and surely Mr. Peddie could have done better.


A. W. P.

THE LIBRARY.

MARTIN MARPRELATE AND
SHAKESPEARE'S FLUELLEN.¹

A NEW THEORY OF THE AUTHORSHIP
OF THE MARPRELATE TRACTS.

V.

HE reader who has followed the argument of the previous article will, I think, be prepared to admit that, though absolute proof is at present impossible, the series of remarkable coincidences there noted form a very strong chain of circumstantial evidence in favour of identifying Martin Marprelate with Sir Roger Williams. We started, it will be remembered, from the broken sentences of Martin's theses, and clambering up through the loophole they provided, we found ourselves on a path leading to strange and unexpected places. It took us to the walls of Lisbon with Drake and Norris, to the camp of Henry of Navarre, to the court of the great Queen, to the

¹ Continued from page 151.

auditorium of the Globe Theatre, to the brain of Shakespeare himself. It was, in fact, no by-path, but the very highway of Elizabethan life and action. Let us now retrace our steps, descend again into the dim underworld of Martinist conspiracy, and, bearing the new theory like a lamp in our hands, see if we cannot throw light into corners which before seemed impenetrably dark. For there is still much to clear up in this business. The story of the Marprelate publications has hitherto been told in ignorance of Martin's identity; we have now to show that our theory not only fits all the facts as we know them, but brings out the significance of many obscure points. Again, the seven tracts have up to the present been attributed to one author; we are now in a position to prove that three writers were involved, to discover who they were and to indicate the exact tracts or portions of tracts which each contributed. In a word, once Martin Marprelate himself has been run to earth, his accomplices can be arrested and the whole plot exposed.

It will be convenient to begin this second stage of our enquiry with an examination of the style of the tracts. 'The Protestation,' which is the last of all, may be reserved for later consideration, since it has its own features and problems; but a study of 'The Epistle,' 'The Epitome,' and 'Hay any worke,' published it will be recollected between October 1588, and the end of March 1589, and of 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior,' published in July 1589, will yield us results confirming the clues we already have in hand, and furnishing us

with new clues to go on with. According to our theory, the earlier group were written by Sir Roger Williams, and the later by two other men who called themselves his 'sons.' We have first to ask ourselves how far the style of 'The Epistle' and its fellows resembles that of Williams' acknowledged writings.

It is obvious that we are here dealing with a problem of no ordinary difficulty. 'Martin,' whoever he was, deliberately affected an antic disposition: 'Perceiving the humours of men in these times to be given to mirth, I took that course.' He strews his tracts, as we have seen, with dialect forms; he invents or adopts a comic vocabulary of his own—e.g., besire (desire), bethout (without), beceitful (deceitful), besoop, bumfeg, dunstical, etc.; he constantly breaks out into whoops and wild ejaculations, such as—py hy hy! tse, tse, tse! wo wo! and so on; he indulges in puns, swaggering parentheses, asides to the reader, and imaginary altercations with an objector or with the bishops themselves. In short, he has taken a leaf out of Tarleton's book, and formed his style on the model of a stage-clown's conversational patter. It would be idle to look for anything like this in serious treatises upon military affairs, such as Sir Roger Williams' 'Briefe Discourse of Warre' and 'The Actions of the Lowe Countries.' In the one case the writer wears cap and bells, in the other morion and buff jerkin; the themes are totally different, the public addressed is different. So far asunder, indeed, are the spheres of the comic theologian and the businesslike military historian that we might, without detriment to our

theory, give up the pursuit of clues in this direction as hopeless. Yet a little perseverance will not be thrown away if we fix our attention upon Martin's less obvious—because more ordinary—qualities of style and vocabulary. No one can read 'The Actions of the Lowe Countries' without being struck with the constant recurrence of phrases in which the word 'sort' appears; 'in such sort,' 'in this sort,' 'in like sort,' etc., occur on the average twice in every page. Martin frequently uses the same expression, though not so persistently. Another trick of Williams' is to begin a sentence with the words, 'True it is,' 'To say troth,' or the like. Martin is equally fond of the form, 'I tell thee true,' which is the same phrase put in the more personal way to suit his conversational style. Still more striking is the constant appeal of Williams and Martin to the reader, or the world in general, to decide upon a moot point, an appeal commencing in such phrases as 'judge you,' 'the world may judge,' etc. Both writers, too, show a partiality for the same words. 'Procure' in the sense of 'persuade' naturally strikes the modern reader's eye at once; 'choler,' 'peevisish,' 'mar,' and 'belike' are other instances; and it should be observed that the writer of the tracts and the writer of 'A Briefe Discourse of Warre' often use a singular verb with a plural subject, as a Welshman naturally would.¹

It is of more importance to our argument to

¹ 'The Actions' contain very few instances of this, no doubt because the treatise was revised by its seventeenth century editor, as he himself informs us.

notice that the two styles agree in fundamentals as well as in mannerisms of word and expression; that is to say, the sentence-structure of Martin and Williams is identical. Take a passage when Martin is in his most serious vein, when he has put off the comic mask and reveals his own features: 'I am not disposed to jest in this serious matter. I am called Martin Marprelate. There be many that greatly dislike my doings. I may have my wants I know. For I am a man. But my course I know to be ordinary and lawful. I saw the cause of Christ's government and of the Bishops' antichristian dealing to be hidden. The most part of men could not be gotten to read anything written in the defence of the one and against the other.'¹ And so he goes on, firing off his short sharp sentences like pistol shots, with very few conjunctions and no subordinate clauses. Now take a passage from 'The Action of the Lowe Countries': 'Divers had leave to dismount themselves who accompanied Julian at the point. The count re-entrenched himself overthwart the breach with a half moon. Himself and some two hundred horsemen stood at the mouth of the great lane towards the breach. The rest of his horsemen were in three troops making patrols (rounds we call it) from place to place round about the town. As one troop came unto him he sent another out. Monsieur de la Noue stood with the armed men in the midst of the half moon. Monsieur de Poyet stood on the one quarter of the moon, with half the shoot. Monsieur de Roueres on the other

¹ Pierce. 'Tracts,' p. 238.

with the rest. At every corner of the moon they placed divers pieces of ordnance, laden with nails, small bullets, and stones, which flanked the mouth of the breach. Julian's captains would not give place one to another more than the colonels, but by lot.'¹ This is no picked passage; it is thoroughly representative of Williams' 'blunt manly style,' as Sir Walter Scott aptly describes it,² a style which is unusual in the sixteenth century, when writers delighted in long, involved and loosely constructed sentences. Had Williams' military treatises shown marked differences from the more serious portions of Martin's tracts, our theory would doubtless be open to grave objection. As it is, we are content to 'let the indifferent reader judge' in the light of the foregoing extracts, so different in theme, so similar in form, whether there is anything inherently improbable in supposing that the author of 'The Actions of the Lowe Countries' was also the author of the first three Marprelate tracts.

We have next to consider the style of 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior.' It is clear, as we should have expected, that neither is by the same hand which penned 'The Epistle,' 'The Epitome,' and 'Hay any worke.' With the significant exception of 'Vather,' already referred to, they contain no dialect forms; they have a comic vocabulary of their own, such as nuncka, neame, flim-flam, dilling, etc., which is quite distinct from Martin's; their sentence-structure is different; the word 'procure' is used in its ordinary sense; and

¹ Somers. Tracts I., 349.

² *Ibid.*, p. 330.

though Martin Senior opens his tract with an ejaculation and is not above making a bad pun or two, neither he nor his 'younger brother' shows any resemblance to his 'father' in the other characteristics noticed above. Furthermore, it is equally clear that Martin Senior is, as he professes to be, a different writer from Martin Junior. The latter's tract is mostly taken up with Martin Marprelate's theses, but 'Martin Junior's Epilogue' is sufficiently long to give the reader a fair taste of the writer's style. There is, of course, some affectation of sprightliness at the outset to suit the occasion; but Martin Junior soon launches out into a serious denunciation of the bishops; and no one, I am convinced, who has read much of Penry's acknowledged work can escape the strong suspicion that this denunciation is from his pen. Expressions of which Penry is particularly fond, such as 'plant,' 'questionless,' 'stand to,' 'deal with,' and 'maintain,' are all used by Martin Junior, the last mentioned being especially frequent. Penry's style again is biblical and rhetorical; he piles substantive upon substantive, adjective upon adjective, clause upon clause, question upon question. Martin Junior does the same. Finally, in the case of each writer, the sentences tend to be long and complex, and there is a constant employment of parentheses within brackets. Taken in conjunction with the external evidence which we shall produce later, the testimony of these stylistic similarities becomes unimpeachable.

The style of Martin Senior creates an even stronger suspicion in favour of Job Throckmorton.

No one could suppose for one moment that Penry was responsible for this tract. The author of 'The Aequity,' 'The Exhortation,' 'Th' Appellation,' and other pamphlets pleading for the cause of religion in Wales, was an intensely serious young man, fervent, passionate, and at times bitter, but one who would move awkwardly in motley, as Martin Junior obviously does. The author of 'Martin Senior,' on the other hand, is a born comedian. Yet his humour is of a different order from that of Martin Marprelate. The latter is boisterous and vociferous; he belabours the bishops with a crabtree cudgel, he writes at the top of his voice, as it were. Martin Senior's method is the knowing wink, the sly dig in the ribs, the quiet chuckle. He is Martin Marprelate's zany, but he altogether excels his master in comic imagination, and his tract is undoubtedly the wittiest of the series. He possesses a dramatic power which his 'Vather' lacks. He can call up comic pictures of his opponents; indeed, he never seems to think of a bishop or dean without imagining him in some absurd posture or other. Moreover, he brings his lay figures upon the stage and makes them talk. The tract plunges at once into a mock 'oration of John Canterbury to the pursuivants,' and concludes with a second by 'that Beelzebub of London.' All this is what we should expect of Job Throckmorton. The only book signed by his name which we possess is the 'Defence of Job Throckmorton,' 1594, written in reply to Matthew Sutcliffe, who had accused him of being responsible for all the Marprelate tracts. But 'M. Some laid

open in his coulers,' one of the three tracts printed by Waldegrave at Rochelle in the summer of 1589, though anonymous, is undoubtedly by Throckmorton also. In the crushing rejoinder to the above-mentioned 'Defence,' Sutcliffe writes: 'the book called "Some in his coulers" was likewise made by J. Throckmorton. That is proved first by the deposition of Waldegrave that upon oath testified so much, and at Rochelle, where he printed it, spake it openly.'¹ We know of no occasion when Waldegrave was examined after the summer of 1589, unless Sutcliffe be referring to an interview between the printer and Bowes, the English ambassador, which took place at Edinburgh in 1590,² but there is no reason to believe that he would deliberately lie on a matter so susceptible of proof. Besides, his statement is supported by the evidence of style; and, though there is not space here to go into this question so minutely as I could wish, it is so important, especially in connection with the problem of 'The Protestation,' that a brief discussion of it is imperative.

One or two sentences from Throckmorton's 'Defence' should give the reader an idea of his style:—Sutcliffe 'very kindly, I thank him, sets his brand upon me in the margin in this manner: "A sanctified Puritan."' 'I am not able to discern why it (i.e. an expression of Sutcliffe's) should come in rustling here unless it be only for the bare noise and sound of it.' Sutcliffe's controversial

¹ Arber. 'Introductory Sketch,' p. 179.

² Scottish State Papers. Eliz., vol. lxx., No. 64. Record Office.

methods with puritans are 'to throw out the gauntlet and chartel of defiance with one hand and to shake the halter and show the hatchet with the other; or rather, in plain terms, to do what in him lieth to cut in sunder the windpipe first and then to ask them why they whoop not afterwards.' 'Sutcliffe's opprobrious speeches . . . were . . . but plain scab and scurvy Jack. In which vein of kitchen rhetoric, if they would give me leave also to follow the sway of the flesh and blood, methinks I could easily without any great sweat or pains (if there were no bounds of modesty to restrain me) learn to confute the honestest man and the greatest clerk in Christendom.' The reason why Throckmorton cannot follow 'the sway of flesh and blood' in his 'Defence' is that the book was addressed to an 'honourable lady,' and therefore he is enforced to keep his exuberant wit within 'the bounds of modesty.' But despite this, his 'kitchen rhetoric' will out, and the tract contains enough of it to prove the writer's extraordinary command of comic metaphor; a topic or person has but to cross his mind, and it is at once transformed into some concrete humorous image. Now 'M. Some in his coulers,' the author of which is under no sort of restraint, is a riot of comic metaphor and humorous vision. Take a handful of phrases and sentences from it, chosen at haphazard:—'To glut down a pretty prebend or two, to help their digestion'; 'I pray you what call you him that giveth in his coat "An ass with a tippet about his neck," and writes underneath "Come and see"?'; 'to choke him straight with a pill out of his own confectionery'; 'but first you

must give him leave to warm himself a little at the magistrate's fire, for it may be his hands are cold. And then (when he hath stirred the coals awhile for the better conjuring of his adversaries) you shall see him prove his antecedent.' He pictures 'some reverend bishop or other on his knees before her Majesty as one loth to speak, good man, but only that the heinousness of the case doth thereunto force him, as it were, against his will; and therefore he begins, I warrant you, with a sigh or two fetched from the very depth of his bowels, in this sort: "O, madame, you may see what your puritans are come to. . . ." Then there is Dr. Some too busy place-hunting to listen to argument: "Tush he is among the organs at Pauls or else looking out of his window towards Lambeth, what should he meddle with the thing in question?"' Lastly, we may give a selection from the expressions this astonishing writer uses as attributes to the single word 'argument':—'sound and musket-proof,' 'wind-shaken,' 'paper-shot,' 'having a lame leg,' 'such as, if you look not to it, will go near to clatter the glass window in pieces,' 'a lame jade,' 'curtails and hackneys of Sarum,' 'a gilded coat armour.' I know no other piece of Elizabethan prose, not even in the works of Nashe, in which the comic imagination is more fertile in play, more varied in resource, than 'M. Some laid open.' Martin Marprelate's 'sport among the catercaps' is of a rougher, more hustling, cruder nature. But Throckmorton's 'Defence' and 'Martin Senior' are written in precisely the same vein as 'M. Some.' There are, moreover,

certain peculiar words and mannerisms which link these three pamphlets together. The chief of these is the frequent use of the verb 'muse' in the sense of 'marvel,' while two other unusual forms, 'appeach' (impeach) and 'putcase' (suppose), may be noticed in passing, though they do not, like 'muse,' appear in 'Martin Senior.' Then again one of Throckmorton's characteristic parentheses is the chuckling 'I thank you,' addressed to an adversary who has made an absurd statement or an ill-advised attack. This is found in 'A Defence' and 'Martin Senior,' while the word 'brand,' (e.g., 'set a brand upon,' 'unbranded,' etc.), which is a very favourite one of Throckmorton's, occurs in all three tracts.

Here for the present we must leave the argument from style. The significance of many of the foregoing points will be clearer as we proceed, but we now have sufficient clues in our hands to attempt with confidence a reconstruction of the story of the Marprelate tracts. We know, almost for certain, who Martin Marprelate himself was, and we have very strong suspicions as to the identity of Martin Senior and Martin Junior. Let us see how our theories and suspicions fit into the framework of established fact.

VI

Sir Roger Williams had every opportunity of learning the plans and hopes of the Puritan party before he left the Netherlands at the fall of Sluys in 1587. Both Leicester and Essex, as we saw,

must have been aware of what was going on. Middleburgh, too, the head-quarters of the English army, was at this time swarming with extremists from home; it possessed two English churches, one founded by Cartwright and the other by Robert Browne; and its only printer, Richard Schilders, who during Leicester's governor-generalship styled himself 'printer to his Excellencie,' was a man who had lived many years in London, and was now busy smuggling into London the tracts of the anti-episcopalians.¹ An acquaintance between Williams and Schilders, extremely probable in any case, would help to explain the part played by the Dutchman in connection with certain tracts on the fringe of the Marprelate controversy,¹ and also the curious reference to him by name in 'The Epitome.'² And when the Welsh knight arrived in England at the beginning of July, 1587, he would find a Puritan conspiracy in full preparation. John Field and others were collecting notes about the scandalous or seeming-scandalous lives of the bishops; John Penry, a young compatriot of his own, just hot from Cambridge, was ready to bombard parliament and the privy council with pamphlets exposing the shameful spiritual neglect of his native country, Wales. 'There is a certain waste of people,' writes Nashe in one of his graver moments, 'for whom there is no use but war: and these men must have some employment still to cut them off. *Nam si foras hostem non habent,*

¹ Trans. Bib. Soc., xi., pp. 65-89 'Richard Schilders and the English Puritans.'

² Pierce. Tracts, p. 119.

domi invenient. If they have no service abroad, they will make mutinies at home.’¹ Williams was exactly this type of person. Since 1572 he had been engaged in almost constant warfare in the Low Countries; Spain was now threatening England herself, and he had come home to take part in the defence; but this defence meant two years of comparative inactivity, and inactivity had become an impossibility for him. ‘Ready with sword or pen, foremost in every mad adventure or every forlorn hope,’ as Motley describes him, he would be the first man, unemployed as he was, to throw himself vigorously into the Puritan schemes. Towards the end of 1587, Penry tells us in his ‘Exhortation,’ a book ‘pleading the cause of Sion,’ was printed in South Wales,² in the production of which Williams may possibly have had a hand. We have no evidence, however, that ‘Martin’ began to think of contributing with his pen before 1588. Field died in February, and copies of his notes came into the possession of both Martin and Penry, who, as it seems independently of each other, began to work them up into pamphlet form. Certainly the third part of ‘The Exhortation,’ which was printed a little after 6th May, and contains matter almost identical with some of that employed in ‘The Epistle’ and ‘The Epitome,’ was mysteriously suppressed by its author; and the only explanation which suggests itself is that Penry had in the meantime seen part of the manuscripts of

¹ ‘Pierce Penilesse.’ McKerrow’s Nashe I., 211.

² ‘THE LIBRARY.’ New Series. X., 234.

the first two Marprelate tracts, or at least had heard that 'Martin' was using Field's notes.

But if 'The Epistle' and 'The Epitome' were in preparation as early as May, why were they not published till the autumn of 1588? One answer is that Williams was busy with other matters. The Armada began to sail up the Channel, and he had to be in constant attendance upon Leicester, though his absences without leave look as though he found time to go on with his Marprelate work. In any case Waldegrave, we are told, had had 'The Epistle' 'a good while to print' before he took it in hand; and we must suppose that the delay was partly caused by the necessity of procuring a larger press and new type from abroad. Williams was well off, and had, no doubt, lordly ideas as to the appearance of his 'metropolitcal writings.' All things considered, therefore, it was natural that the printer should be settled at East Molesey about Michaelmas with a new press and a fine selection of black letter founts; for by that time Philip's ships had gone to their destruction, Williams himself was free, and the sea between England and Middleburgh had for many weeks been open again, if it was from Middleburgh, as I suspect, that Waldegrave procured his type and press.¹ 'The Epistle' was published just after Williams went to the Netherlands with Norris,

¹ The proof that Waldegrave secured a new press in the late summer of 1588 cannot be gone into fully in this place. It rests chiefly on the fact that all the tracts printed by Waldegrave in 1588 before September are in half sheets, and all those (8vo or 4to) printed between September and March in the next year are in whole sheets.

so that probably he was able to see an advanced copy before starting. On 10th November he is once more back in England, in time to write the brief preparatory epistle to 'The Epitome,' which appeared some three weeks later from Fawsley. 'Martin' wrote nothing in December, 1588, as far as we know, unless some of his 'unperfite' tracts, his Latin treatises, or his verses against Dr. Prime, of which Martin Junior and Senior speak, were written at this time. The point is worth noting, because it is possible that Williams was with Norris in the Netherlands again in December. The following January, however, preparations for the expedition to Portugal had begun, and the presence of both Norris and Williams was required in England. At the same time Cooper's 'Admonition' gave 'Martin' new material to work upon, and instead of attending to his military duties down in Plymouth, Williams remained in London writing, we must suppose, 'Hay any worke for Cooper,' and its sequel 'More Worke for the Cooper.' That the latter tract was, at least in part, written in the spring of 1589, there can be no reasonable doubt. 'Hay any worke' is full of references to it as immediately forthcoming, and from Penry's words to Sharpe at the beginning of May, it is evident that the Martinists supposed Waldegrave to be printing it 'in some corner in Devonshire.'¹ 'Hay any worke' was finished by Waldegrave on 23rd March, but previously there had appeared the broadside known as 'The Minerals.' This has hitherto been classed as one

¹ Arber, 'Introductory Sketch,' p. 100.

of the Marprelate series; yet the name or title of Martin Marprelate is nowhere mentioned in it. The references to Bishop Cooper as 'profane T. C.' and the 'tub-trimmer,' prove that Martin himself, or someone who had seen the manuscript of 'Hay any worke,' had a hand in it; but there is no reason for supposing that the tract was more than a compilation, while the occurrence of 'appeaching,'¹ and the characteristic 'I thank him,' in 'school-points' 9 and 15, make it more than likely that Job Throckmorton was in part responsible for it.

Soon after the appearance of 'Hay any worke,' as I am persuaded, the authorities made some discovery which either fixed the authorship upon Williams or laid him under very grave suspicion. No other theory, as we saw, will adequately explain the headlong flight from London on 3rd April and Elizabeth's subsequent displeasure with the Welshman. Why, too, should Waldegrave suddenly leave England at this juncture? In accordance with the policy of perambulation pursued by the Martinist publishing house, he had moved from Coventry to Devonshire at the end of March, taking with him the manuscript of Penry's 'Appellation,' the Marprelate black letter, and probably the larger of the two presses. As late as 1st May Penry apparently supposed that he was at work in 'some corner' of Devonshire, and it was not until about 18th May that he learnt that Waldegrave had given them all the slip. Evidently

¹ In the first three Marprelate quartos 'impeaching' occurs more than once, but never 'appeaching.'

the flight to Rochelle was entirely unpremeditated, and we are not surprised to learn that Hodgkins later speaks bitterly of his predecessor's desertion of the cause. Devonshire had in the first place, I conjecture, been selected as Waldegrave's destination because Williams was expected in that part of the world, and would wish before sailing to give the printer his final instructions, together perhaps with the manuscript of 'More Worke.' But consider the position of affairs if Williams believed the whole plot to be discovered. He and Essex fling themselves upon the 'Swiftsure' and secretly put in at Falmouth. Here takes place an interview with Waldegrave, a constitutionally timid man, and already weary of the Marprelate business. He learns of the discovery and the consequent danger to himself, and the upshot is that the 'Swiftsure' conveys him to Rochelle, the Protestant city of refuge.

Contrary winds kept Williams for some ten days in Falmouth harbour, and it is possible that the same cause detained him for a week or so at Rochelle, since, it will be remembered, a month elapsed between the sailing of the main fleet and his coming up with it. During these idle weeks I believe he continued his Marprelate writings. Possibly he now put the finishing touches to 'More Worke'; almost certainly he began to draw up the 'theses' which afterwards appeared in 'Martin Junior.' The reader who turns from 'Hay any worke' to these theses will find a striking change of attitude in the author. In the former, Martin is as confident and boisterous as ever; in

the latter, as Martin Junior notes with sorrow, 'the old man is something discouraged in his courses.'¹ The preface, or 'speech,' which precedes the theses, without doubt displays considerable despondency of tone. 'The bishops I fear,' writes Martin, 'are past my cure, and it may be I was unwise in taking that charge upon me. The best is, I know how to mend myself. For good leave have I to give over my desperate cure: and with this farewell unto them, I wish them a better surgeon.'² Such is the mood of Martin Marprelate when he pens this tract. The note he strikes is one of compromise, of despair, of 'farewell to book making,' almost of penitence. Moreover, he never finished the tract; for the 'loss of his papers' will not account for the broken sentences in the body of the text, though it might explain the abrupt conclusion. What is the reason of all this? Again our theory steps in as the only one which fits the facts. Williams was cast down at his discovery. He had begun to realise that bishop-baiting was a more hazardous game than he had supposed. He sets to work in a chastened spirit to write a tract 'without inveighing against either person or cause.' And then the wind changes, and he has to throw the thing aside; or, finding the old habit of thwacking 'corner-caps' getting the better of him as he proceeds, he gives up the task in disgust. In any case, I am convinced it was his last contribution to the Marprelate controversy.

¹ 'Tracts,' p. 303.

² *Ibid.*, p. 304.

Waldegrave began to print soon after he reached Rochelle. It is a little surprising to find that he did not take in hand 'More Worke.' The explanation probably is that 'Martin' himself had not yet completed this tract, that in fact 'More Worke' was 'unperfite' like the rest of his papers which reached England in July. As, however, the pamphlet was captured with the printers, we have no means of arriving at any certainty on this point. The three tracts which Waldegrave did print at Rochelle were Penry's 'Appellation,' Throckmorton's 'M. Some laid open in his coulers,' and a booke called 'A Dialogue wherein is laid open the tyranicall dealing of L.Bishoppes.' Of the last I wish to say nothing here, as I have had no recent opportunity of reading it. More than common interest, however, is attached to the publication of 'M. Some'; for it was issued without Throckmorton's knowledge and under the editorship of another person. The title-page bears the inscription 'Done by an Oxford man to his friend in Cambridge,' and the preface 'to the reader' begins as follows:—'Having this lying by me, without any purpose to publish it as yet, I was advertized of the taking away of M. Penry's book by the pursuivant. Whereupon I resolved (though it should be some offence to my friend) not to closet it up any longer lest the adversary should too much triumph and insult. Even as it came into my hands, so have I given it his passport, without any addition or alteration of mine. Only the title, I confess, is mine own, the rest is my Oxford's friend's.' The editor is as good as his word, he

has neither added nor altered, but he has certainly subtracted. The tract commences in the most abrupt manner possible: 'Be it so, sithence you will needs have it so, provided that you be not overhasty to communicate it, for that may breed danger to me and no great good to yourself'; after which cryptic utterance the writer passes on to deal with M. Some, a theme which occupies him for some 125 closely-printed octavo pages. Throckmorton, 'the Oxford man,' has evidently written a long letter on the subject of M. Some's iniquities and stupidities to 'his friend in Cambridge,' prefaced by some remarks of a personal nature, which, to judge from the above quoted fragment, would no doubt have been very interesting not merely to us, but to the Elizabethan government. The letter was written between the 10th and the 29th of January, 1589, since it mentions Cooper's 'Admonition,' which appeared soon after the former date, and since it was on 29th January that the pursuivants raided Penry's house at Northampton and took away the manuscript of his book against M. Some, to which the editor refers in his preface. Who the Cambridge man may be it would be idle to conjecture. He is not Penry, because the whole tract is written about Penry, who is always spoken of in the third person. He cannot be 'Martin,' because Martin is referred to in the same fashion. Nor is he, I think, the editor himself, whose preface has a distant and speculative note which we should not expect from the friend to whom the letter was addressed. From the opening sentence of the

tract it seems that Throckmorton was reluctantly granting 'his friend' permission to 'communicate' the letter to some third person. This person, we cannot doubt, was the editor who wrote the preface, and who did his work so carelessly that, while no doubt cancelling the first page of the manuscript, he allowed the last sentence of Throckmorton's private warning to his friend to get into print. And this editor? Surely none other than Martin himself. The expression 'laid open in his coulers,' and the use of 'insult' for 'exult,' as Mr. Pierce has pointed out,¹ occur more than once in the first three tracts and the theses, while the word 'advertize' (inform) is a very favourite one with Sir Roger Williams. Throckmorton was able to swear that he 'knew not Martin,' but the two men certainly knew *of* each other, and had probably some indirect correspondence. Martin Marprelate speaks in 'The Epitome' of 'my son Martin Senior that worthy wight,'² and Martin Senior himself, while professing that his father's 'eldest child never knew him,' plumes himself on the honourable mention 'that my father made of me in his writings.'³ It is probable that one of their channels of communication was the unknown Cambridge man.⁴

Meanwhile the sudden departure of Williams

¹ 'Historical Introduction,' pp. 294, 295.

² 'Tracts,' p. 159.

³ 'Tracts,' pp. 361, 362.

⁴ It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that this unknown person was the young Earl of Essex, who was educated at Cambridge.

and Waldegrave had left Penry and, we must now add, Throckmorton in a quandary. It was not until the middle of May that they learnt the true condition of affairs. Hodgkins was immediately secured to take Waldegrave's place,¹ but there was nothing for him to do, because all the available manuscripts had disappeared with Martin and the printer. Whether Waldegrave took one of the Marprelate presses with him to Rochelle we cannot tell. At any rate by midsummer Hodgkins had two presses at his disposal,¹ and yet nothing was taken in hand. For four months the Marprelate publishing house produced not a single sheet. But on 1st July the fleet arrived in England, and on board, we believe, came Williams' negligent servant with a bundle of his master's papers, some of which had been lost, and all of which were sodden with sea-water. Perhaps he had commands to take those dealing with the 'Actions of the lowe countries' to Williams' house at St. Paul's Wharf, and to convey those concerned with the bishops and Dr. Prime into Penry's hands. In any case, 'More Worke for the Cooper,' the 'Theses' and other manuscripts, reached Penry soon after the beginning of the month; and the Marprelate press could once more be set going.

Yet the manuscripts could not be put at once into the printer's hands, for several reasons. In the first place, they were so 'scrabbled and weather beaten' that 'they could scant be read to be printed,' and Martin Junior confesses that he found parts of

¹ Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

the theses quite illegible.¹ It was therefore necessary that some person or persons familiar with Martin's handwriting should make a fair copy for the benefit of the compositors. That this was done, and done by Penry and Throckmorton, we have ample proof. Hodgkins told Symmes after the capture of the press that there were two copies of 'More Worke,' one of which had been seized by the authorities, and a second 'which would serve them at another time.'² The former, no doubt, was the fair copy in the hands of Penry or Throckmorton, the latter Martin's original manuscript, which lay safe in Throckmorton's study at Hasely. The captured printers were very closely examined concerning the handwriting of the tracts that passed through their hands. Their evidence proves fairly conclusively that all the manuscripts they saw were in the hand of either Penry or Throckmorton, though it is somewhat confusing as to the relative portions written by the two men.³ 'More Worke for the Cooper' was evidently a long tract, and it would therefore take some time to copy out. Moreover—and here we come upon a second reason for delay—since the composition of 'More Worke' in February and March the anti-Martinist campaign had

¹ Tracts, pp. 324-5. The editor of Williams' imperfect 'Actions of the lowe Countries,' the manuscript of which presumably suffered in company with 'More Worke' and the 'Theses,' writes that it came to him 'in a ragged hand much maimed, both in sense and phrase' (Somers, 'Tracts,' I., p. 332), which is yet another point in favour of our theory.

² Pierce, 'Historical Introduction,' p. 339.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 291, 336-339. Cp. also Sutcliffe's evidence (Arber, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 178).

been in full swing. Poems and tracts had been issued on behalf of the bishops, and Martin himself had figured in several plays on the public stage. The sequel to 'Hay any Worke' could not properly be allowed to appear without some reference to these events, and the obvious way of meeting the difficulty was to pen a prefatory epistle such as that which had been added to the 'Epitome.' Martin's sons could not hear of their father; they were not certain if he were alive or dead. The duty of writing such an epistle, therefore, devolved upon them, and it was undertaken, as we shall presently see, by Throckmorton.

But the transcription of 'More Worke' and the composition of its prefatory epistle meant delay, and Martin's sons were in feverish haste to produce something at once. They had been waiting in vain for four intolerable months to hear from their 'Vather' 'by some Pistle, though it were but of twenty sheets of paper,' waiting also while 'the adversary did too much triumph and insult' in pamphlets and plays, to which no reply was forthcoming. The papers at last arrived, and while Throckmorton was busily engaged upon 'More Worke,' Penry took in hand the 'Theses,' penning an 'epilogue' intended to give puritans some explanation of Martin's long silence, and to encourage his father to play the man once again, if he had escaped out of the danger of gunshot. This appeared on 22nd July, before which, we must suppose, Throckmorton, having finished his epistle to 'More Worke,' had also written 'Martin Senior,' the lively and amusing 'reprooffe' of the

pretty stripling his brother for daring to publish his father's 'Theses.' We have already seen strong reasons for thinking that Throckmorton was Martin Senior and Penry Martin Junior. But quite apart from the style of the tracts there can be no reasonable doubt about the matter. Martin Marprelate himself being out of the way, Penry and Throckmorton are the only men in the least likely to have continued his dangerous work; and we know from the testimony of the printers that both supervised the production of the tracts, altered the sentences under the compositors' eyes, and corrected the orthography.¹ Furthermore, since Penry was considerably younger than Throckmorton, it was natural that he should assume the title of Martin Junior. His Christian name too was John, which accounts for Martin Senior addressing him as 'Jacke.' Lastly, while, as we have seen, Throckmorton disclaimed any personal acquaintance with Martin Marprelate, Martin Senior concludes his tract with this advice to his 'younger brother':—'Be silent and close: hear many, confer with few. And in this point do as I do; know not thy father, though thou mayest.'² Now the one man in all the Martinist circle who is likely to have been in touch with Martin Marprelate, was John Penry. His nationality, the withdrawal of the third part of 'The Exhortation,' and his control of the Marprelate press, all go to prove it. When Martin Senior, therefore, states

¹ Pierce, 'Historical Introduction,' p. 336. 'Arber,' *op. cit.*, p. 102.

² Tracts, p. 380.

that he has no knowledge of Martin Marprelate, and admits that Martin Junior may have, we have yet another indication that these two tracts were the work of Penry and Throckmorton.

VII.

The crux of the whole Marprelate problem is the authorship of 'The Protestation,' the last and, on account of the numerous and baffling clues it contains, the most fascinating of the series. After the publication of 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior' at the end of July, Hodgkins moved to the neighbourhood of Manchester, where he was captured with his compositors on 14th August while in the act of printing 'More worke for the Cooper.' 'The Protestation' was written after this untoward event, and appeared some time before the middle of October. We saw that in September Henry of Navarre and Sir Roger Williams were at Dieppe. It was, therefore, possible for the Welsh knight to communicate, had he wished, with his friends in England, and to send them the manuscript of 'The Protestation.' Yet, in spite of the fact that the tract is called 'The Protestation of Martin the Great,' and is 'published by the worthie gentleman D Martin Marprelat D. in all the faculties primat and metropolitan,' I am now convinced that the original Martin Marprelate, be he Williams or some other, had no part in its composition. In 'THE LIBRARY' of July, 1907, I showed that the signatures and type of the tract revealed the hand of two different

printers. Since then an even more interesting fact has forced itself upon my attention—namely, that the tract is also the work of two different writers. Read it down to the foot of p. 14, and you will not find a single indication of Martinism in it. The tone is lofty and intensely serious; the style is biblical and rhetorical; the sentences are long and, though admirably constructed, are complex, full of conjunctions, subordinate clauses and adverbial phrases. On p. 10 commences the celebrated ‘Protestation’ itself, printed for the sake of emphasis in larger type than the rest. The man who wrote this meant what he said and picked his words carefully. It is noticeable, therefore, that he avoids using the obvious expression, ‘I, Martin Marprelate,’ and prefers to say instead, ‘I who do now go under the name of Martin Marprelate.’ What does it all mean? It means that Penry is writing. The style is his, the passion behind it is his and his alone, the sentence structure is that found in his acknowledged writings. Mr. Pierce, while insisting that ‘the writer of the “The Protestation” is the same who wrote “The Epistle,”’ admits that ‘there are sections in the earlier part of the tract which conceivably could have been written by Penry.’¹ The admission is a valuable one, for without the right clue in his hands, Mr. Pierce naturally finds it difficult to get over the evidence of the title-page. A careful analysis of Penry’s style has completely convinced me that the whole of the first part (*i.e.*, the first fourteen pages) is by the young Welsh reformer.

¹ ‘Historical Introduction,’ p. 306.

Despairing of learning anything more of the real Martin, and believing no doubt that he had died in the suburbs of Lisbon, Penry has taken the cause on his own shoulders, has adopted the name of Martin Marprelate—for it is only a name—and has issued his courageous protestation to the bishops as the firstfruit of his new calling.¹

Now turn to p. 15, and you will find yourself in an entirely different atmosphere. The preacher has left the pulpit and a jester has taken his place. The sentences are shorter, simpler, crisper; the tone is light and bantering; and towards the end of the tract the style has become as rollicking as Martin at his best. Is it then Martin himself? By no means. Martin, we discovered, has his zany, a zany wittier, slyer and more subtly comic than his master. It is 'M. Some laid open in his coulers' that the latter half of 'The Protestation' reminds us of. But we have more definite ground to go upon than mere resemblance of style. There is not the slightest doubt that the two pieces of writing are by the same author, because they contain the same material, the same jests, almost the same sentences. Take for example the following passages, both of which refer to the unfortunate Dr. Some. The writer of 'The Protestation' says:—'The man, in all likelihood, never goeth without a little saunce bell in his pocket and that doth nothing else but *Ting, Ting, Ting!* And

¹ It should be noticed that this is by no means Penry's first 'protestation' or challenge. Scarcely one of his tracts is without an appeal for an open disputation, and 'Martin Junior' is no exception to the rule (see 'Tracts,' p. 330).

what doth it *Ting*? If you give good ear, nothing else, I warrant you, but "my sermons," "my writings," "my reasons," "my arguments"; and all is "my, my, my," as if the depth of all learning were included in the channel of his brain.¹ Now for 'M. Some laid open,' where we find this passage:—"If a man mark it, there is much ado throughout his whole book with *his writings, his words, his reasons, his answers, his sermons* etc, which it seemeth he would fain fasten upon posterity for laws and statutes as if the ground of all good knowledge were graven in the very wrinkles of his forehead."² Exactly the same point is made against Dr. Some in both cases. More than that, the idea has matured in the mind of the author since he wrote 'M. Some laid open,' collected different images around it, and become increasingly steeped in comic imagination. This is the most glaring parallel between the two tracts, but many others might be quoted if space permitted.

It will now be clear that the second writer of 'The Protestation' was Job Throckmorton. It is true that the West English dialect form 'chauve' is used on one occasion,³ but this simply shows that Throckmorton was attempting to live up to the name of Martin Marprelate, and borrowed the word from his 'father.' The rest of the vocabulary is essentially his own, and the peculiar forms 'muse,' 'putcase,' and 'appeach,' which we have shown to be favourites with him, all make their

¹ 'Tracts,' p. 415; 'Protestation,' p. 29.

² 'M. Some laid open,' p. 45.

³ Tracts, p. 413.

appearance.¹ And if, as is indisputable, Throckmorton wrote the second part of 'The Protestation,' he must also have written the epistle to 'More Worke for the Cooper,' since the author of the second part gives a detailed and loving account of the said epistle, which he claims as his own, and which had, of course, been seized by the authorities while on the press. 'I sigh,' he remarks, 'to remember the loss of it, it was so pretty and witty,' a regret we must share with him, for if the feast itself corresponded in any measure with the menu of it given in 'The Protestation,' it must have been the most spicy and toothsome of all the Marprelate tracts. Probably it was based to some extent upon what Throckmorton could remember of his 'M. Some laid open,' for it is in the passages where he refers to it that we find the striking parallels to the Rochelle tract. When writing the epistle to 'More Worke,' Throckmorton, no doubt, never expected to see his 'M. Some laid open' again. He must have known that it had reached Martin's hands; but if he looked for it among the papers which came with the fleet on 1st July he looked in vain, because, of course, Waldegrave had secured it and was then printing it. But when Penry and Throckmorton were in the middle of 'The Protestation,' Waldegrave arrived at Hasely with the printed copies of 'Th' Appellation' and 'M. Some.' He found his former patrons in great difficulties, trying to master the mysteries of a printer's forme. They had managed to set up, after a fashion, and strike off the half-sheets of

¹ Tracts, pp. 407, 409, 410.

signature A, and possibly they had begun to puzzle out the composition of the second half sheet. Here, however, the practised craftsman came to the help of the amateurs, and no doubt printed off the rest while they composed under his direction.¹ When these facts are remembered it will be understood how it was that the pen changed hands exactly at the foot of the printed page. Penry and Throckmorton must have composed the formes as they wrote, if indeed they took the trouble to write at all!

Before we leave 'The Protestation,' one more word must be said about this change of authorship between pages 14 and 15. I know of nothing more laughable and amusing in the whole story of the Marprelate controversy, or more suggestive as to the kind of men we have to deal with in this business, than the point we are now about to bring forward. The sheet-anchor of all enquirers into the authorship of the tracts has hitherto been the statement made in 'The Protestation' that Martin, though a bachelor at the moment of writing, was intending to be married shortly. The statement in question commences on p. 14 and is concluded on p. 15. But it must be quoted in full if the joke is to be properly appreciated; and the turn of the page, at which point the pen passed from the hand of Penry to that of Throckmorton, may be indicated by an upright line.

'I am blamed of many in this mine attempt, not only for throwing myself into great danger; but

¹ For the arguments upon which these statements are based, see 'THE LIBRARY,' Series II., vol. viii., pp. 354-6.

also for the utter undoing of my wife and children. I do thank them with all my heart, for their care over those poor souls, and commend them for their secrecy and wisdom that, in knowing my wife and children, they have not, by showing their unmeasurable love towards them, discovered me. | You see what it is, when wise men have the handling of a matter. I perceive, if these men were not very provident and wary, that Martin could not be long unknown. For I tell you, if a man's wife and children be once known, it is not possible that he can be secret any long time. And yet, methinks, that all their wisdom, and all their care over my wife and children, when the matter is well weighed, is scant worth three straws. For what if Martin had neither wife nor child in all his life, are they not then something too much overweened in their own conceit, who give out that he hath both? Will you believe me then, if I tell you the truth? To put you therefore out of all doubt, I may safely protest unto you, with a good conscience, that howsoever the speech may seem strange unto many, yet the very truth is that hitherto I never had wife nor child in all my life. Not that I never mean to have any; for it may be, notwithstanding all the rage and barking of the Lambethetical whelps, I may be married, and that ere it be long.'¹

This passage clinches the argument for a double authorship of 'The Protestation.' The first two sentences, which occur on p. 14, certainly imply that the writer is a married man. The 'many'

¹ 'Tracts,' pp. 405-6.

who blame him for his dangerous enterprise are his friends, no doubt, who are assisting to provide for his wife and children; for he thanks them with all his heart 'for their care of those poor souls.' He writes with unmistakably genuine feeling. His friends have shown 'unmeasurable love' towards his family, who are doubtless well known and watched by the pursuivants, eager to catch the writer. He commends his friends for their secrecy and wisdom; by their care of his poor wife and children they have evidently made it easy for him to separate himself from them and to keep out of danger. All this is exactly what Penry would say in September, 1589. He was in imminent peril, hunted from pillar to post, lurking in obscure taverns and secret holes and corners. Soon after 'The Protestation' appeared he was on his way to Scotland, apparently leaving his wife and child behind him in his father-in-law's house at Northampton.¹ But turn now to the sentences on p. 15. Quite apart from questions of style, it is impossible to suppose that the same man is writing. 'What if Martin had neither wife nor child in all his life?' Well might this 'speech seem strange unto many' after what had gone before. And then comes the definite statement—'I have never had wife nor child in all my life,' yet 'I may be married, and that ere it be long.' These words are as equally applicable to Throck-

¹ Penry married on 5th September, 1588. He had four children, only one of whom could have been born at the date of 'The Protestation,' see Pierce, 'Historical Introduction,' pp. 208, 209.

morton's case as those above had been to Penry's. At the time when 'The Protestation' was being written, Throckmorton was, in truth, unmarried; but before the end of the year he took to wife Dorothy Vernon, of Houndhill, Staffordshire.¹ It should be noticed that he makes two implications—first, that 'Martin' had never been married; and, second, that 'I,' that is Throckmorton, had never married, but intended to do so. To the end of the tract Throckmorton is careful not to speak of himself directly as Martin. Thus he kept strictly to the truth in everything; for 'Martin' to him was Sir Roger Williams, who died a bachelor.

This is the best joke and the cleverest piece of mystification that the Martinist circle ever perpetrated, and Throckmorton, to whose genius it was no doubt due, was justly proud of the achievement, as he shows us by again referring to his marriage in his quaint chuckling fashion at the end of the tract. But it is time to draw this lengthy enquiry to a close. Nothing more need be said here, except to gather up the threads of our tangled argument in a table which will show the reader at a glance to whom the various tracts are attributed.

'The Epistle'	. Sir Roger Williams
'The Epitome'	. Sir Roger Williams
'The Minerals'	. { Sir Roger Williams Job Throckmorton ? John Penry

¹ Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

- 'Hay any worke for } Sir Roger Williams
 Cooper'? }
 'M. Some laid open } *Preface and title*, Sir Roger Williams
 in his coulers' } *Body of traēt*, Job Throckmorton
 'Martin Junior' . } *Theses*, Sir Roger Williams
 } *Prologue and Epilogue*, John Penry
 'Martin Senior' . Job Throckmorton
 'Epistle to More } Job Throckmorton
 worke' }
 'More worke for the } Sir Roger Williams
 Cooper' }
 'The Protestation' . { *pp. 1-14*, John Penry
 } *pp. 15-32*, Job Throckmorton

JOHN DOVER WILSON.

A VICAR'S LIBRARY.

THE great increase in the value of early printed and illustrated books which has taken place in recent years, and the occasional reports in the newspapers of the sale of some rare volume, has led to much searching in out-of-the-way places for possible bibliographical treasures, with the result that it is much less common now than it was at one time to come across a library, containing books of value, the owner of which is unconscious of the worth of his possessions, and which are consequently allowed to remain in an entirely neglected condition. Such, however, is, or until quite recently was, the case with a small collection of books at Marlborough, known as 'The Vicar's Library,' and when, a short time ago, I found an opportunity of examining them, with the help of a catalogue prepared in 1903 by Canon Wordsworth, so thick was the dust covering the shelves, that I was obliged to borrow a hint from Dr. Johnson, and arm myself with a pair of hedger's gloves before venturing to remove any of the volumes for inspection.

The Library, which originally consisted of about 475 volumes, was left to the Mayor and Corporation of the town, for the use of the then Vicar and his successors for ever, by the Will of a certain

William White, at one time Rector of Pusey, in Berkshire, who died in the year 1678. Subsequent Vicars were required by the Donor to add 'One Good Book to the Study, that is not there already, to the end it may be a convenient Library for any Minister of whatever abilities and inclinations,' although, from the almost entire absence of works printed in the eighteenth century, it would appear that this condition was not always carried out.

The books were placed in a little wooden chamber in the Church, where they remained until its restoration, about the year 1843, when they were removed to the Vicarage and subsequently (possibly owing to the Donor's fondness for folio editions) to the Town Hall.

At the present time the books number exactly 606, and being lodged in a dingy attic at the top of the building, the rows of ragged brown calf volumes remind one of what must have been the appearance presented by the Libraries of the Antiquarian Parson in 'Bracebridge Hall' and other worthy collectors of bygone days.

Taken as a whole, the Library is of considerable interest. I shall not, however, attempt to analyse its contents, but only to mention some of the more important books (including those added since its original foundation), as, so far as I know, no reference has before been made to its existence in any public journal.

As might be expected from the fact that the Donor was a seventeenth century Parson, the books consist largely of classical and theological works, probably two-thirds coming under these heads.

Amongst the former are several editions of Homer (including Chapman's translation of the 'Iliad') and an Aldine edition (1546) of Cicero's 'Rhetorica.' In fact, nearly all the principal Greek and Latin authors are there in full force, mostly in editions printed on the Continent, including a few Elzevirs. There is nothing I think of special note about any of the theological works, which include most of the seventeenth century Divines; and as many of them are in cumbersome folio editions, they do not invite very close inspection. Among the minor theological writers, Thomas Pierce, at one time a pupil to White and afterwards Dean of Sarum, is represented by several volumes.

The bindings, as is usual with books of that date—the majority of them belong to the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries—contain many scraps of manuscripts and earlier printed books, used by the binders as padding; and some of these have been collected and placed in a scrap-book. The most important piece of manuscript consists of eighty-three lines of English verse (circa 1440), 'The Trees of Vice and Virtue,' taken from a copy of Textor's 'Observationes ad Ecclesiae Aedificationes,' dated 1598. There are, however, several others that might prove of interest to the expert.

Among the printed 'binders' waste' were two pages of the 'Cranmer' Bible; sixteen leaves of 'The overthrow of Stage Plaies,' 1629; and 'A New Prognostication' for the year 1570, by J. Securis, of Salisbury, a quaint little book that appeared annually from 1561 to 1580, copies of

which must be extremely rare. This has now been bound up with another black-letter 'Prognostication,' by one William Woodhouse, for the year 1638.

The earliest printed book is a work by the Abbot of a Cistercian monastery in Bohemia, entitled '*Dyalogus dictus Malogranatum*,' folio, 1487, a good example of fifteenth century printing, attributed to the press of Ludwig von Renchen at Cologne. The most important book which the Library contains is no doubt a collection of seventeen grammatical tracts by Stanbridge and Whittington bound in one volume (contemporary binding), and printed by W. de Worde. They are all dated about the year 1520, and with the exception of, I think, two, are complete and in good condition.

There are several interesting Church Service Books, including a '*Manuale in usum Ecclesie Sarisburiensis*,' 1500, printed for the famous Paris publisher, Antoine Vérard, its bold black and red type making it a striking volume. There is also a French 'Book of Hours' (1535), by F. Regnault, also of Paris, and though the date is too late for the best examples of '*Horae*,' the woodcuts are very fair. In addition to these there is a '*Psalterium cum Hymnis*,' 1551, printed by Jolande Bonhomme (widow of Thielman Kerver), and a '*Primer in English after Salysburie Use*,' London: Assignes of J. Wayland, 1558. 16mo. This is apparently the book described in 'Lowndes' as 'Queen Mary's Prayer Book.' Lastly, there is a '*Missale*' dated 1626, and printed at Antwerp.

Apart from fragments, there are only five editions of the Bible, including Fulkes' Rhemish Version; a Vulgate edition, Antwerp, 1635; and Walton's Polyglott in six volumes, this last bearing the autograph of Brian Duppa, at one time bishop of the diocese.

The Library contains a good many grammatical works and school books, among them being 'Certaine brief Rules for the eight partes of speche,' 1538; Lily's Latin Grammer, 1653; an Ipswich School Grammar, 1537; and a small Winchester School book, 'Rhetoricae Compendium in Usum Scholae Winton' 1660, which is probably rare, and should be of interest to Wykhamists.

There is one book with a chain attached—namely, the second volume of Comber's 'Companion to the Temple.'

The list of English 'classics' is small, though a first edition of Bacon's 'Advancement of Learning,' in very good condition, and a second edition of Sir Thomas Browne's 'Religio Medici,' must be mentioned. There is also one volume of Foxe's Book of the Martyrs' containing woodcuts. It is evidently an early edition, though unfortunately in poor condition, and without its titlepage.

The 'Poems and Works' of James I., Edinburgh and London, 1591-1599, are in the Library, as are also the 'Works' of Charles I., folio 1662. Among a few topographical books I noticed Camden's 'Britannia,' 1586; Stow's 'Survey of London,' 1598; and Edward Brown's 'Travels in Europe,' 1687. Curiously enough, none of the Donor's own books (he was the author, writing

under the name of 'Phalarius,' of one or two scholastic works) occur in the Library.

The following are a few books of interest not already mentioned. 'Aesopi Fabulae,' 12mo. London, circa 1525; Richard Mulcaster's 'Positions for Training children,' 1581; 'Flowers of Latin speaking out of Terence,' 1561, by Nicholas Udall, the author of 'Ralph Royster Doyster,' the first English comedy; Fitzherbert's 'Justice of the Peace,' R. Tottell, 1580; 'A brieff Survey and Censure of Maister Coozen's Couzening Devotions,' by William Prynne; Brewer's Comedy, 'The Combat of Tongues and the Five Senses,' and Matthew Gwinne's 'Nero,' 1603.

None of the books have gilt tooled bindings, but there are several beautiful examples (chiefly French) of stamped leather. They are apparently all early sixteenth century work, some of the designs being similar to examples in the possession of the Victoria and Albert Museum. One of them, having a well-known device of acorns arranged alternately down the centre, is the work of John Noryn.

HUGH MACDONALD.

MICHAEL WENSSLER AND HIS PRESS AT BASEL.

THE following pages were at first intended to consist merely of a brief discussion of one or two typographical difficulties connected with the press of Wenssler at Basel, but on second thoughts it was decided to expand them into a continuous account of the whole of Wenssler's printing career. The reason for this change of scope was a more thorough appreciation of the value of Dr. Karl Stehlin's '*Regesten zur Geschichte des Buchdrucks bis zum Jahre 1500, aus den Büchern des Basler Gerichtsarchivs,*'¹ together with the consciousness that this book, though often quoted, has never been made full use of. It was published as far back as 1888 and 1889, and consists of 1,632 excerpts dealing with early printers and printing from contemporary legal and other documents preserved at Basel, the importance of which to the student, not merely of Wenssler but of Basel incunabula in general, it is not easy to exaggerate. Thus, for instance, the list of Johann Amerbach's donations to the Basel

¹ Published in the '*Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels,*' vols. xi. and xii. Except where otherwise stated, the details of the present essay are taken from Stehlin, exact references having been omitted as needless.

Charterhouse (No. 1623) is absolutely essential for correctly determining the output of this famous press. Again, Nos. 749 and 773, together with half a dozen other entries, provide conclusive evidence not only for the existence of a hitherto unrecognized printer, Adam von Speier, but also for the identification of his latest production, a Breviary for the Diocese of Chur, which has been described by Dr. Reichling without a suspicion of its true provenance, although the materials for correctly assigning it have been ready to hand for years.¹ Indeed, the present essay appears to be the first systematic attempt to combine the information contained in the Regesten with that deducible from the typography of the books themselves. Moreover, until the contemporary records become more freely available it is clear that the study of German incunabula cannot be advanced very much further than at present, and it is greatly to be desired that someone should do for the archives of Memmingen, Reutlingen, and the rest what Dr. Stehlin has done for Basel. Hitherto, however, no general move has been made in this direction by those who alone are in a position to do so, the only conspicuous exceptions being the work of Dr. Voulliéme on Cologne and that of Dr. Zedler, more comprehensive within its much narrower limits, on Bamberg, together with a few short papers by Dr. Adolf Schmidt, who is himself a notable advocate of the plea here urged.

¹ Reichling, Appendices, II., p. 130, *Breviarium Curiense* [1490]. It is there ascribed to the Printer of Jordanus de Quedlinburg, Strassburg.

The Regesten, dealing as they do mainly with records of debts and actions for their recovery, are an exception to the general rule that the annals of the poor are short and simple. For this reason they are of least assistance during the earlier and more prosperous years of Wenssler's activity. On the matriculation lists of Basel University the name of 'Michahel Wensenler de Argentina' is entered for the year commencing 1st May, 1462, but it does not appear that he ever took a degree. Quite possibly he learnt his craft in his native city, as the beginning of Basel printing can hardly be dated back beyond 1468, but it is unlikely that he started a press on his own account before 1472. An edition of Barzizius, 'Epistolae,' the joint work of himself and one Friedrich Biel, was on the market by 1st December of that year, as is proved by a manuscript note of purchase so dated in a copy preserved at Basel, and on the evidence of the type only one other book known to me can be supposed to be earlier than this. In the same month of December there is a mention in the records of the two men as 'die Trukere,' and in June of the following year 'Michel Wenseler von Strassburg ein Trucker' is noted as having bought the citizenship, the statutory fee for which was four guilders.

These details are of some importance in view of the patriotic attempt made by J. J. Amiet¹ to put back Wenssler's date by no less than eight years, to 1464, thus claiming him as the earliest printer of Switzerland, four years earlier than Berthold

¹ Aus den ersten Zeiten der Buchdruckerkunst, in vol. 17 (1892) of the 'Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte.'

Ruppel. Amiet rests his case on the evidence of a book preserved in the Fürstl. Oettingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek at Maihingen (Bavaria), which contains two tracts bound up together—the first a manuscript of Nicolaus de Gorra, ‘*Super epistolis s. Pauli*’; the second a copy of the undated edition of Boethius’s ‘*Consolatio philosophiae*,’ which is unquestionably among the earliest productions of Wenssler’s press (Hain *3335). In the top cover of this volume, stated by Amiet to be in a very early, probably the original, binding, is written the following inscription in a contemporary hand: ‘Anno lxx° [i.e. 1465] Iste liber fuit magistri schön doct̃oris sacre theologie de nurenberga quem legauit monasterio s̃cti magni in faucibus [i.e. Füssen].’ Below this ‘the same or an only slightly later hand’ continues: ‘Item gorra super epistolis s. pauli.—Item bohecius de consolatione phylosophie.’ The Magister Schön of this inscription appears from notes in other parts of the book to be identical with one Friedrich Schön who died at Basel on 12th October, 1464, and Amiet of course infers that the Boethius, having been Schön’s property, must have been printed at some time before this date. Everything depends, however, on whether the two tracts were already cased together in the year 1464, and it is quite impossible to say that a book was bound in 1464 rather than ten or fifteen years later in the absence of the positive evidence of a date-stamp or some similar indication on the outside. There is no proof whatever that the inscription inside the cover refers to more than the manuscript Gorra only;

very possibly it is written on the first blank leaf of the Gorra itself, which was bound up at some later date with the Boethius to suit the convenience of the librarian of Füssen. It is no uncommon thing to find tracts of widely separated dates, and even differing considerably in subject, united in a single volume by the binder, and we may very well assume that this is what happened in the present instance. The second part of the inscription, the enumeration of the contents, was then added for obvious purposes of identification about the same time.

The year 1472 thus remains incontestably the earliest date connected with Wenssler's press; and taking this as a point of departure, it is evident from the size, number and quality of the books printed with his first type that his business flourished exceedingly in the early seventies. By the end of 1474 he had produced a dozen books, some of them of considerable length, and for several years his output was both copious and regular. In 1475 he collaborated with Bernhard Richel in an edition of Caracciolus's *Quadragesimale*, and in 1476 he started on the fine series of law folios, annotated editions of the *Decretals*, *Institutions*, and so forth, which formed the staple of his production for six or seven years, and which he frequently fell back upon afterwards. In 1477 Wenssler, Richel and Ruppel were all associated in the printing of Nicolaus Panormitanus 'Super libros *Decretalium*' in five immense volumes, about which there will be more to say later on. A copy of this book is noted as having been 'presented by the printers' in the list

of donations to the Works Department of Basel Cathedral, an institution which was not infrequently the recipient of Wenssler's generosity in kind, much as the Charterhouse benefited at the hands of Amerbach.

We are enabled to make an estimate of the resources of the house of Wenssler when at the height of its prosperity by the payment-lists still extant of the Margzalsteuer, a graduated tax levied on the total capital of each citizen as declared on oath by the owner himself. From this it appears that Wenssler stood possessed of 1,400 guilders in 1475, and of 1,600 guilders in 1476, an amount far greater than that of any other printer in the list, with the sole exception of Ruppel's 1,700 guilders in 1477. Even the great Amerbach owned only 1,000 guilders in 1480, which he had increased to 1,500 in 1497. Another list of payments shows us that Wenssler paid Schillingssteuer, a species of poll-tax, on an establishment of no less than twenty-nine persons in 1475, so that he was then clearly in a very considerable way of business indeed. Possibly, too, he combined a type-foundry with his printing-office, if a passing allusion to him in 1484 as 'Giesser' may be trusted. But this prosperity was of short duration. In the declaration for 1479 there is a sensational drop from 1,600 to 1,000 guilders. More than a third of Wenssler's total wealth had gone in a single year. The documents cited by Stehlin throw no direct light on the cause of this disaster; but the fact that Ruppel's total of 1,700 guilders also declined to 1,200 in 1478, and to 1,000 in 1479,

is most significant, and probably gives the clue to what had happened. As noted above, these two printers and Richel (whose name does not occur in the lists) had collaborated in 1477 in the monumental five-volume Panormitanus. By an unfortunate chance, two editions of the same work were issued in the same year at Venice, one by Jenson (Hain *12310), the other by Johannes de Colonia and Manthen (Hain *12308), and the Basel edition was clearly unable to sustain such keen competition, thereby involving its producers in very heavy losses. Wenssler's temper, it appears, gave way under the strain of his business troubles, for early in the next year, 1480, he was sued for what must have been a most savage assault on one of his workmen, named Ulrich Gengenbach, and cast in damages, surgeon's fees and costs to the amount of '60 Pfund Basler Pfennige.' Previously to this, however, there took place a typographical change in the character of his work which demands a few words of consideration.

Proctor in his Index (Nos. 2768-70) catalogued under the press of Albrecht Kunne at Memmingen three books, all printed with the same types, the first of which, a '*Casus summarii Decretalium*,' is dated 25th August, 1479, and signed '*ingenio Michaelis Wenslers Basilee impressus*,' the other two ('*Formularium instrumentorum*' and Turnhout, '*Casus breues super totum Corpus Juris*') being neither signed nor dated, although the former is proved by a dated manuscript note in the British Museum copy to have been in existence in 1480. The reason which induced Proctor to

assign these books to Kunne, in defiance of the colophon quoted above, was that the two founts of type which they contain very closely resemble two used shortly afterwards in some of Kunne's signed work. Still, he had misgivings from the first. 'The attribution is doubtful,' he remarked in a note, 'as the "*Casus summarii*" has the imprint of Michael Wenssler. It may be a reprint of an edition by Wenssler, possibly of Hain *4658, which has a table; the B.M. copy [of the "*Casus*" in question] has no table, and the sigs. would not agree with the table described by Hain. Nothing could be less Wensslerian than the appearance of these books.' Although this last observation is perfectly true, yet there can be no abiding doubt that the three books are really Wenssler's work, and Proctor himself on further consideration subsequently restored them to him. A priori, of course, it is highly unlikely that the hypothetical Wenssler edition of a severely unpopular book like the '*Casus*' should have disappeared without leaving a trace behind it. In the next place, the table of Hain *4658, about which Proctor was in a difficulty, does not really form part of the '*Casus*' at all, but belongs to one of the undated books, the '*Formularium instrumentorum*'; here it fits correctly into the quiring after the body of the book (sig. q after sig. a-p), and is described in its right place over again by Hain (No. *7276). The copy of the '*Casus*' at Munich from which Hain drew up his description No. *4658 happens to have this table prefixed to it by a binder's error, and it is absent in the two other copies in the

same library. Moreover, some copies of the table have the word 'Tabula' in the first line misprinted 'Taubla,' and such a copy is described in No. *7276, whereas in that of No. *4658 the misprint is corrected. But for this discrepancy, misleading at first sight though really slight enough, Proctor himself would most likely have seen what had occurred, and the little enigma have been solved immediately. Finally—and this is a point of greater importance—one of the three Munich copies of the 'Casus' is bound up with a copy of Bottonus, 'Casus longi decretalium,' which Wenssler had printed not very long before, though with different types.¹ All things considered, therefore, it is amply evident that the group of books in question can have been produced by no one but Wenssler,² who then appears to have become dissatisfied with the types and passed them on to Kunne.

The year 1480 may conveniently be taken as the beginning of Wenssler's second period, a period of at any rate comparative prosperity at first, but later on of rapid and progressive decline. The references to his affairs multiply in the Regesten. Ominous entries occur under 18th April and 27th September, 1482, from which it appears that some four years previously Wenssler had bought four

¹ Information as to books in the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek at Munich mentioned in this article has been kindly supplied by Dr. Karl Schottenloher.

² This is put beyond doubt by the fact, only discovered since this article was in proof, that the Basel Breviary 'arte et ingenio Michahelis wenssler Basilee impressus,' 2 June, 1480 (Hain *6266) is printed in the Wenssler-Kunne types.

shares in a mine in the Schneeberg in Saxony, from one Herrmann Nadler, of Zwickau, for 350 guilders, payable in instalments; while on the strength of this transaction Nadler in his turn borrowed 100 guilders in cash from Wenssler. Neither party seems to have made any effort to settle up their respective obligations, and it is hardly surprising to learn that the matter was eventually taken into court at Basel, though the final decision is not reported. In April, 1483, Wenssler appears as paying eighteen guilders interest on money borrowed from Michael Locher at Neufchatel—the first of the entries relating to loans which afterwards become so distressingly frequent. In May, 1484, Wenssler formally puts on record a promise to pay Ludwig Zschekaburlin ‘160 lb Basler Pfennige,’ and gives as surety for the fulfilment of his promise ‘die Prefier so er under Hannden hat ze trucken.’ These Breviaries are unfortunately not further specified, and can hardly be identified with any of Wenssler’s extant productions, but they seem to be the first recorded item of a considerable series of service-books for various dioceses which Wenssler printed on speculation in the latter part of his career, afterwards employing agents to circulate them in the districts concerned. In a good many cases our knowledge of these books is confined to casual allusions in the documents excerpted by Stehlin, and they do not appear to have survived even in a single copy.

More intricate problems, however, require to be faced at this period. In or about 1483 some

change, the reasons for which are altogether obscure, must have taken place in Wenssler's circumstances, and the history of his press becomes curiously uncertain. There is very little difficulty up to this point in determining the sequence of his output, a considerable proportion of the books being both signed and dated, and those that are *sine nota* being easy to bring into line by the aid of the types. From 1483 to 1485, however, Wenssler, for whatever reason, seems to have deliberately avoided putting his name to any book, and this change of policy partly coincides with a change of fount. We know from references in the Regesten that he was printing Breviaries in May, 1484, and again that he was fully occupied in the summer of 1485; but although the books of this latter year seem tolerably certain, the Breviaries cannot be identified, and to both 1483 and 1484 there attaches a mystery as yet unsolved.

One unsigned book dated 1483, and one unsigned book dated 1484, are enumerated among Wenssler's work by Proctor, and none of the bibliographies appear to know of any more. The book of 1483 is a '*Vocabularius utriusque iuris*,' printed with types undoubtedly used by Wenssler; but as it contains less than one hundred and fifty leaves, it clearly cannot have taken a whole year to print. Much less can the book of 1484 be supposed to have kept even the most modest press occupied for a twelvemonth, for this is a '*Modus legendi abbreviaturas in utroque iure*,' consisting of only thirty-three leaves of text. Its Basel origin is, however, undoubted, as the colophon says, 'in

alma uniuersitate Basiliensi impressus Anno domini .M.CCCC.Lxxxiiij. die .vij. mensis Aprilis.' But it is, as a matter of fact, possible to associate several other books with it, though they must be sought for in a very different quarter. Proctor marked the 'Modus legendi' as being printed with Wenssler's types 4 and 8, the former a title type of the somewhat massive character much in vogue at Basel, the latter a text type measuring about 90 mm., and occurring nowhere else in Wenssler's work. It appears on a closer examination, however, that the large type of the 'Modus' is really rather lighter than type 4 as found in Wenssler's accredited books, though both are very much alike in general effect, and is apparently indistinguishable from the third type used by Quentell at Cologne. As to type 8, Proctor himself suggested a comparison with two other types—type 3 of the Printer of the 1481 'Legenda Aurea' at Strassburg, and type 4 of the same Quentell. Here again the resemblance is close enough, but whereas in the Strassburg and Cologne types the shaft of minuscule *x* is invariably a plain vertical stroke, the Basel type is peculiar in having the foot of *x* turned over, or hooked, towards the right. Taking this distinction as a guide, we find among the mass of books hitherto ascribed to Quentell five which have the Basel *x*-form in the text type, and which also contain the title type apparently common to both presses. The transference of these books to Basel is therefore unavoidable. The new group consists of the following:

- 6 July, 1484. Jo. Molitoris: tabula Summae b. Antonini.
 Voulliéme, Buchdruck Kölns, No. 818.¹
- 13 Aug., 1484. Petrus Lombardus: sententiarum libri iv.
 Proct. 1285.
- n. d. Clemens de Terra Salsa: conclusiones
 super Summam Thomae de Aquino.
 Proct. 1373.
- n. d. Horatius: Sermones. Proct. 1372.
- n. d. Petrus Hispanus: summulae logicales.
 Proct. 1303.

It is to be noted in this connection that the Molitoris and the Lombardus are the only two books bearing the date 1484 enumerated by Dr. Voulliéme in his list of Quentell's productions, so that, apart from its significance in the history of Basel printing, the transfer has the not unimportant effect of post-dating the beginning of Quentell's second press by one year—to 1485.

A consideration of the titles of the six books here brought together reinforces the suggestion conveyed by the colophon of the first of them, the 'Modus legendi,' that they are the work of a printer connected with, or at any rate catering for, the University. There is nowhere a hint that Wenssler was such a printer, nor is he otherwise known to have printed either logical text-books or any of the Latin classics. Further, we know from the entry in the Regesten already quoted that he was engaged in printing Breviaries in May of this year, and on the face of it he is not very likely to have been doing both these very different kinds of

¹ Information as to the type of this book has been kindly supplied by the librarian of Cambrai, the British Museum not possessing a copy.

work simultaneously. Yet another difficulty is raised by the appearance in the list of Molitoris's Table of the 'Summa' of Antoninus. For early in the very next year, 1485, an edition of the 'Summa' itself in four volumes was printed at Basel, in all probability by Wenssler, as will be seen below. In this the Table of Molitoris appears once more, printed as an appendix to the main body of the work and uniform in size and appearance with it (Proct., No. 7505), but the wording of the colophon differs appreciably from that of the 1484 issue. If Wenssler was really the printer of both, it is natural to ask, why should he not have retained the wording of the earlier in the later? One hesitates to suppose it more than a mere coincidence that this same wording shows the 1484 issue to have been the archetype of the unimpeachably Quentellian edition with the misprinted date 'Anno dñi. M.cccc.&x̄c,' usually read as 1490 (Proct. no. 1301). Or are we to conjecture that it was Quentell himself who was temporarily established at Basel in 1484?

These things remain a mystery, and we must be content to have tabulated some reasons against the Wensslerian authorship of the 1484 group, without being able to disprove it absolutely. As to the two bulky works of 1485, the 'Summa Antonini' already mentioned, and the 'Summa b. Thomae Aquinatis,' their authenticity is less doubtful; but the discussion is complicated by a much greater mass both of evidence and conjecture, and it will be necessary by way of preliminary to shift the ground of the argument to Strassburg.

Proctor in his introductory note to Wenssler remarked that the close relations of that printer with Strassburg caused some difficulties in his types, and he had anticipated this statement in a somewhat formidable footnote to the press of the Printer of the 1483 *Vitas Patrum* at Strassburg, where, among other matters, a distinction is drawn between the latter's text type, type 2, used from 1483 to 1486, and the text type of the Basel books of 1485, listed as type 9 of Wenssler. This distinction was based on the presence or absence of certain majuscule forms in each group, notably those of N and P. Proctor's note, as will be seen presently, requires to be somewhat modified, and it will therefore be best to insert at this point a revised list of all the various groups concerned, in order that the arguments below may be followed without difficulty:

Group 1. Strassburg, Printer of 1483 *Vitas Patrum*. Title type of Strassburg character, foot of **r** curled to right. N of text type with diamond in centre.

7 March, 1483. *Vitas Patrum*. Proct. 418.

*1483. Paludanus: sermones Thesauri Noui de tempore. Proct. 419 (Body of text, including colophon with 'Argentine').

5 Feb., 1484. Gritsch: quadragesimale. Proct. 420. (Quires c-z A-F; also sheets G3, 4).

n. d. Casus in terminis Accursii. Proct. 430.

n. d. Colonna: historia troiana. Proct. 429.

n. d. Gesta Romanorum. Proct. 427.

n. d. Manuale parochialium sacerdotum. Proct. 428.

Group 2. Strassburg, Printer of 1484 Paludanus. Title type as in group 1. N of text type rounded to right and crossed.

- *1483. Paludanus: sermones Thesauri Noui de tempore. Proct. 419. (Only unsigned first quire containing table.¹)
- 5 Feb., 1484. Gritsch: quadragesimale. Proct. 420. (Sheets G1, 2, quires H-K, also first quire of table in some copies.)
- *1484. Paludanus: sermones Thesauri Noui de tempore. Proct. 421.
- 7 July, 1485. Vitas Patrum. Proct. 422.
- *1485. Paludanus: sermones Thesauri Noui quadragesimales. Proct. 423.
- *1485. Paludanus: sermones Thesauri Noui de Sanctis. B.M. Cat., p. 99, IB. 1312.
- 9 Oct., 1486. Gritsch: quadragesimale. Proct. 425.
- n. d. Corona B. V. Mariae. Proct. 426.
- n. d. Marchesinus: mammotrectus. Hain
*10553.

N.B.—Books marked * mention Strassburg as their place of printing.

Group 3. Basel or Cologne? Title type similar to that of Groups 1 and 2, but with straight-shafted **r** instead of **r** curled at foot. Text type as in Group 1. Assigned by Proctor to Ludwig von Renchen at Cologne.

- 29 Sep., 1483. Vocabularius iuris utriusque. Proct. 1283.
- [29 Sep., 1483. Vocabularius iuris utriusque. Nachträge zu Hains Repertorium, No. 384. Variant of preceding, leaves 2-7, 9-11, 14-16 (*i.e.*, sheets a2-4 and b1-3)]

¹ It may be as well to state that the setting-up of the table in this issue differs from that of the 1484 issue (Proct. 421).

being printed with 'Wenssler type 8,' according to Dr. Voulliéme, the rest the same in both.

- n. d. Rolewinck: fasciculus temporum. Proct. 1284. (Cologne woodcuts.)
 n. d. Eyb: margarita poetica. Hain *6815. (In this group, so far as can be judged from pl. 251 of the Gesellschaft für Typenkunde.)

Group 4. Basel, probably Wenssler. Title type partly as in Groups 1 and 2, partly Wenssler's type 4, partly both mixed. In the text type crossed straight-shafted N, with double shaft to left, occurs in all the books, but there are many alternative forms of majuscules, including the A, the I, the two N's and the three P's of groups 1, 2 and 3.

[5 Feb., 1484. Gritsch: quadragesimale. Proct. 420. (Both quires of table in most copies, second quire only in others.)]

January - May, Antoninus: summa. Proct. 7501-5. 1485. ('Basilee.')

August, 1485; Thomas Aquinas: summa. Proct. 7506-8. 1485. ('Basilee.')

1485. Biblia. Proct. 424.

n. d. Cato moralisatus. Proct. 431. (With small quantities of a heading type of Strassburg character.)

n. d. Textoris de Aquisgrano: sermo de passione Christi. Bonn 1119. (See reprod. on pl. 252 of Ges. f. Typenk. ('Premit urbs Basilea.')

Group 5. Basel? Title type various. Text type with crossed straight-shafted N characteristic of group 4, but unmixed.

- n. d. Balbus: catholicon. Proct. 432. (Title type a mixture as in group 4.)
 n. d. Mandeville: itinerarius. Proct. 433. (Title type apparently as Wenssler's type 4.)

In conclusion, a reference may be made to Hugo de Prato Florido, *Sermones de sanctis*, 21st January, 1485, with Heidelberg as place of printing, which is assigned by Proctor (No. 3126) to the Printer of Lindelbach. This book contains yet another combination of types, the text type being that of group 5, the title type that of groups 1 and 2. It stands apart from the rest of the 'Lindelbach' books, in which, as Proctor pointed out, the text type is 'much mixt with caps. from a German type.'

Dr. Voulliéme, in the preface to his 'Inkunabeln der öffentlichen Bibliothek . . . der Stadt Trier,'¹ was the first to attempt a further analysis of Proctor's footnote, and it is to him that the division of the books originally united under the Printer of the 1483 'Vitas Patrum' into two groups (1 and 2 above), as well as the title 'Printer of Paludanus' for the second, is due. Unfortunately, however, he has gone further than this, and claimed the first group, that containing the original 'Vitas Patrum,' for Wenssler at Basel, leaving only the books of the 'Printer of Paludanus' at Strassburg. His chief reason for doing so is the assumption that the text type of the 'Vitas Patrum' group is identical with that of the 1485 Basel group, which

¹ Published in 1910 as Beiheft 38 of the 'Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen.'

he calls 'Wenssler's Type 9 (gemischt)'; and since he regards the 1484 Gritsch as belonging throughout to group 1, he finds an independent confirmation of his theory in the type of the table of that book, where, as he says, 'there is an admixture of Wenssler's M²¹ with a dot in the oval' [i.e., the M of Wenssler's type 6]. Dr. Voulliéme has here fallen into several errors at once, as an examination of the list given above will show. In the first place, he has entirely overlooked the fact that neither the Paludanus of 1483, nor the Gritsch of February, 1484 (the two very books on which he principally bases his argument), is printed with a uniform type throughout. In the Paludanus, indeed, he cannot have pursued his investigations beyond the first quire, which is the only one printed with the type of group 2, the body of the book, including the colophon with the place of imprint, being in the type of group 1. In the Gritsch, on the other hand, the last quires are printed with the type of group 2, the rest of the body of the book being in the type of group 1. There is thus explicit evidence that the types of group 1, as well as those of group 2, are in point of fact Strassburg types; and it is also clear that they must have belonged to closely connected presses, which in two instances shared the printing of a book between them, and that the later of these presses superseded the earlier about February, 1484. It is true that, if group 3 was really printed at Basel, what appears to be precisely the same text type as that of group 1 also occurs in that city about the same time; but this does not necessarily imply any direct

connection between the two groups, nor is there any improbability in the same type being used almost simultaneously in two neighbouring centres. In any case, Dr. Voulliéme is in error in speaking of the type of group 1 as 'Wenssler's Type 9 (gemischt),' for the type of this group is obviously much purer than Wenssler's type 9 as found in the 1485 Antoninus and Aquinas, being indeed almost entirely free from foreign elements.¹ Finally, he has failed to observe that there are variations in the setting up of the Tabula of the 1484 Gritsch, as a glance at the British Museum Catalogue of Fifteenth Century Books, vol. I., p. 98, would have shown him. The setting up found in the Museum copy and in the majority of extant copies is printed throughout with what appears to be Wenssler's type 4 for the headings, and the type of group 4 (Basel, 1485) for the text; it is this setting up which contains an instance of 'Wenssler's M²¹ with a dot in the oval.' In the Munich copy (Hain *8070), on the other hand, the first quire of the table is printed with the two types of group 2, while the second quire belongs to the setting up already described. This change of type is the more conspicuous in that the division between the quires comes in the middle of the words beginning with N, and there is a sudden change in the N-form in consequence. The most obvious explanation of these peculiarities is that a large consignment of

¹ Dr. Haebler corrects this error in his note to pl. 251 of the Gesellschaft für Typenkunde, where he calls the type 'Wenssler Type 9 (rein),' but he has to admit that it is found in no book with Wenssler's name.

unbound copies of the Gritsch was despatched for sale at Basel, that the quires of the table met with some accident on the way, and that the consignee at Basel had the damage made good on a local press, whether that of Wenssler or another. This theory is further supported by the Uppsala copy, in which, according to information kindly supplied by Dr. Collijn, the first quire is of the Basel setting-up, and the place of the second is taken by manuscript. Thus it will be seen that even the table of the Gritsch cannot be adduced as evidence for connecting the working of the press of group 1 with any other place than Strassburg.

The first two groups having been dealt with, group 3 is the next to come up for consideration. The two most remarkable points about it are (1) the presence in the undated 'Fasciculus temporum,' of woodcuts used by Quentell (in 1481), and Guldenschaff at Cologne and (2) the variant of the 'Vocabularius' containing 'Wenssler type 8'—again evidently a case where damage to some of the original sheets has been made good later on in another type. Dr. Voulliéme, not having noticed that the large type of the 'Vocabularius' is by no means absolutely identical with that of group 1, includes this book among the Strassburg group which he fathers on Wenssler, and for him the variants in 'Wenssler type 8' are, of course, only an additional confirmation of his hypothesis. The 'Fasciculus' he also, though doubtfully, assigns to Wenssler, in spite of its Cologne woodcuts; and indeed it cannot well be separated from the 'Vocabularius,' as the types appear to correspond in every detail in both

books. As to their provenance, it is clear that everything depends on whether the type of the variant pages of the 'Vocabularius' is really 'Wenssler type 8' or not, as it will be remembered that this is the type which was in use at Basel in 1484, but has hitherto been confused with a very similar type used by Quentell at Cologne from 1485 or 1486 onwards. If the variants are printed with the latter type, there is obviously no reason for supposing the group to be of other than Cologne origin, and the problem of dating the beginning of Quentell's second press is opened up afresh. If, on the other hand, the variants are really in the Basel type, as one would like to believe, then, taken in conjunction with the Cologne cuts, they afford an independent and interesting support of the hypothesis suggested above, that Quentell spent part of the years between 1482 and 1485 in Basel.¹ Apart from this, however, there is a further inference to be drawn from the 'Vocabularius.' Assuming it to be a Basel book, it affords strong internal evidence that, whoever may have printed it, Wenssler at any rate did not. Dr. Voulliéme does not appear to have noticed that scarcely a month previously, on 20th August, 1483, there was finished an edition of the same work 'in ciuitate Basiliensi,' printed with Wenssler's types 4 and 7, and beyond reasonable doubt by Wenssler himself (Proct. no. 7498). This edition differs from the September edition (1) in the phrasing of

¹ It is worth remarking that the Basel 'Modus legendi' of 1484 in type 8 contains an admixture of wrong-fount D which may very well be that of the text type of group 3.

the colophon, (2) in not having the protestation by 'huius operis director' after the colophon, (3) in the page-contents (here if anywhere one might expect one of the page-for-page reprints which Wenssler not infrequently produced), (4) in the watermarks. These four points taken together are pretty conclusive proof that the two editions did not issue from the same printing-office, and—always assuming that the September edition is really of Basel origin—are a weighty confirmation of the doubts as to the 1484 group being Wenssler's work expressed in a previous section.

As for group 4, including the two bulky 'Summae' of 1485 with Basel as the place of imprint, and the Bible *sine nota* of the same year, this seems to offer fewer difficulties, and there seems no particular reason why the books included in it should not be Wenssler's productions. A confirmation of the view that he was very busy just about this time is afforded by an interesting entry in the Regesten under 29th July, 1485. It concerns a suit brought by Ulrich Meltinger against Wenssler and a certain Heinrich Zschach, who is on several occasions associated with him. Wenssler and Zschach appear to have taken over liability for a debt of 550 guilders which Meltinger owed to Hans Jungermann, but to have delayed discharging it. Meltinger thereupon pressed them to do so, and Wenssler appealed to the court to allow him grace until Christmas, offering Meltinger as surety 'the work on which he is at present engaged and which he hopes to have finished by Martinmas.' This course was finally agreed upon,

but Wenssler was ordered for further security to hand over to Meltinger 'one hundred printed books entitled [space left blank], which he has just printed (so er yetz gar nach gedruckt) and the value of each of which he estimates at three Rhenish guilders, and also one half of the books which he is about to print next after the aforesaid books and estimates his share (i.e., profit?) in these same books at 1,000 guilders, the said books to be printed off by about Martinmas next.' But for the unpardonable carelessness on the part of the copying clerk in omitting the title of the earlier of the two works in question, this entry would settle the whole problem for good and all, and even as it stands makes it perfectly clear not only that Wenssler was actively engaged in printing at the end of July, 1485, but also that he was at work on large books, which according to his own estimate were then to take him not less than four months to complete. The last date connected with the first book of group 4, the 'Summa Antonini,' is 21st May. Having struck off the whole edition of this, Wenssler would no doubt make immediate preparations for starting on the Summa Aquinatis, and by the end of July would naturally be 'at present engaged' on it. The 'prima secundae' of the Aquinas was finished on 20th August, and assuming that the various parts of the book were completed in their natural order, the two remaining sections, comprising rather more than half the total work, would certainly occupy him during at least two months more. Altogether, then, about six months would appear

to have been spent on the Aquinas. This seems no unreasonable estimate for a large folio, in double columns, of 740 leaves; but if it is correct, it must be pointed out that the 'Summa Antonini' was turned out quite twice as quickly, since, although it contains no less than 1,520 leaves as against 740, the completion of its first section is separated from that of its last by no more than four months and a half (4th January—21st May). Quite possibly, of course, the sections of the Aquinas were printed out of their order, as was certainly the case with those of the Antoninus, so that the date 20th August which is found in the 'prima secundae' is perhaps also that of the end of the whole book. In that case Wenssler, who can scarcely have made a miscalculation of nearly three months in his estimate, deliberately post-dated it to Martinmas in order to give himself more time to find the money wherewith to satisfy Meltinger. The suit, by the way, was still undecided as late as July, 1487.

With the conclusion of group 4 we enter upon the last phase of Wenssler's career at Basel. In 1486 the series of signed and dated books, so mysteriously broken off in 1482, is resumed, to outward appearance with success. In reality, however, disaster was rapidly closing in upon him. In June, 1486, he was the defendant in a peculiar action brought by one Conrad Gilgenstein, called Hablützel, burgess of Basel. This Conrad, it seems, had formerly bought of Wenssler a number of Cologne Breviaries, with which he had been well satisfied. Afterwards Master Michael had

induced him to take over for 400 guilders 600 copies of a Utrecht Breviary, asserting the book to be printed as well as, or better than, the former, and equally accurate. Most of the purchasers, however, to whom he retailed them, had returned him their copies as being 'not in accordance with the order of the Bishopric, but with divers inaccuracies and omissions,' and he therefore applied for an order of the court to compel Wenssler to take back the books, and refund him the purchase money with damages over and above. Wenssler, on his part, asserted that he had sent a special messenger to the Diocese of Utrecht to procure him a Breviary from which to print, and while admitting that his edition might not be complete in every minor detail, denied indignantly that it contained any serious defects: he would be ashamed, he said, to print anything incorrect or with inferior type. The parties were after many delays referred to the Utrecht Chapter for an expert opinion, but the matter was still unsettled as late as January, 1488, when Wenssler made an application that a sealed document delivered to him by the Chapter might be officially opened and read. As Hablützel was absent at the time, the case was adjourned—and that is the last we hear of it. No copy of the Utrecht Breviary appears to be anywhere recorded.

Other creditors were now pressing Wenssler hard. In March, 1487, he and Zschach were jointly sued for a debt of thirty guilders. In July, 1488, he gives a promise to pay Heinrich and Cunrat David 200 guilders at the end of the month;

this particular debt appears to have grown to 245 guilders in September. In October he confesses to another debt of 300 guilders; in January of the next year to another of 100 guilders. In March, 1489, Wenssler and two Strassburg printers, Arbogast Mor and Veit Varbbrenner, give full powers to Johann Heidegger, called Blaubirer (possibly the Johann Blaubirer who printed at Augsburg early in the eighties), to sign in their name a contract 'for printing sundry Mass and Prayer Books at Salzburg for use in that diocese.' It does not appear whether these particular books were ever printed, but in 1490 and 1491 Wenssler was at law with Varbbrenner over another issue, about which there will be more to say below. It was a discreditable piece of litigation enough, but there at least emerges from it one point of typographical interest. This is that Mor and Varbbrenner were at one time the agents of Paulus and Johannes Wider, of Zweibrücken, priests of the diocese of Metz, and that Wenssler had printed for them a Constance Breviary, apparently about the middle of 1490. As Paulus Wider is in one place spoken of in connection with 'Horembach,' or Hornbach, a small town near Zweibrücken, he is clearly identical with the Paulus Wider de Hornbach who appears in Erfurt in 1482 as the printer of a volume of lectures on Aristotle's 'De Anima.' Unfortunately the Basel archives have no occasion to tell us anything more about him beyond the few formal details mentioned in the lawsuit. As to the Constance Breviary, an undated edition of this book in Wenssler's types

was assigned by Proctor (No. 7499) to about 1483, under the mistaken impression that the types employed in it were Nos. 5 and 6 of his list. In point of fact, however, one of them is a mixed type not elsewhere met with, and the only date connected with the other is 1486, in which year it was used for printing the 'Grammatica' of Gutterius. Thus, although there is internal evidence for bringing the Breviary down as late as 1486, there is none at all for assigning it to 1490, and it must therefore remain somewhat doubtful whether this is really the book printed for the Widlers.

By the end of 1490, however, Wenssler was no longer his own master. As early as October, 1484, the name of Jacob Steinacher is mentioned as a creditor of Wenssler's for the unimportant sum of 64 guilders. On 6th February, 1490, he reappears, this time as a figure of fatal prominence—a creditor for no less than 460 guilders in cash, as well as thirty bales of paper valued at a further 200. Wenssler now signs an agreement with him, by the terms of which he is to use the paper immediately for printing. The books as soon as printed are to be handed over to Jacob, and truly sold at the best price they will fetch. From the profits Jacob is to deduct immediately 200 guilders for the paper; the next hundred is to be used by Wenssler as part payment of his debt to Jacob, any surplus is to be divided in equal parts and Wenssler's share once more devoted to satisfying Jacob's claims. The titles of the books printed on these thirty bales of paper appear from a recapitulation of the

agreement, dated 25th May. Wenssler's creditors, both home and foreign, had held a meeting on the previous day and pressed for payment; but the court had adjourned bankruptcy proceedings over Whitsuntide, in order that 'mein Herr der Zunftmeister,' who apparently acted as official receiver, might endeavour to obtain a composition on more favourable terms. Steinacher's recapitulation of the 25th seems intended to safeguard the priority of his own claims, and mentions among other things that on the thirty bales of paper Wenssler had printed 'eine Loyca und Phie, yede Ballen für vij gulden.' This 'Logica' and 'Philosophia' are evidently identical with two tracts by Joh. de Magistris, 'Quaestionessuper totum cursum logicae' and 'Quaestiones super philosophia naturali,' which constitute § 6 of the heading Basel, Miscellaneous, in Proctor (nos. 7793, 7794). These tracts should therefore be included among Wenssler's work, and with the less hesitation that all the three types which they contain occur elsewhere in his latest productions.

But Wenssler had not done with Steinacher yet. On 20th February the archives record another agreement, from which it appears that Steinacher had lately lent Wenssler a further 150 Rhenish guilders 'to print certain Breviaries.' The profits of the sale are to be divided in the same one-sided manner as before, but nothing is said of the 200 guilders for paper, while the principal debt has increased from 600 to 660 guilders. On 18th March two further declarations appear. The first is in the joint name of Wenssler and his wife, who

acknowledge the receipt of 200 guilders in cash from the honourable Jacob Steinacher, called Allgauer, merchant and burghess of Basel, repayable by S. John's day next, for which payment they pledge a quantity of wearing apparel, furniture and jewellery, the items being set out at length in the record. In the second declaration Wenssler formally acknowledges that he has sold to Steinacher 'all and every his implements and furniture for printing, as presses, formes, and so forth, with all appertaining thereto, all the type which he has in use, small and large, matrices and all other gear and apparatus belonging to the printing office,' for 253 guilders paid to him in cash, and that he hereby resigns all these things into the custody of the purchaser.

From these entries it is clear that Wenssler's career as an independent printer ceased in March, 1490, and that his finances were in such a condition as to make him dependent on the good pleasure of his principal creditor, even for the ordinary expenses of his household. After his prosperity of the seventies Wenssler no doubt felt this reversal of fate particularly keenly; and reading between the lines of the records one fancies it possible to detect a desire to put unpleasant things as considerably as might be on the part of Allgauer, who seems also to have allowed Wenssler a good deal of latitude during the following twelvemonth. Be this as it may, he lost no time in setting his newly acquired presses to work under their late owner's direction. By the very next day (19th March) an agreement had been drawn up whereby Wenssler

engaged himself to print off an edition of 'Bettbücher genant Brevier in das Kungrich England dienende' in eight weeks' time, Steinacher paying him 'in Belonungs wise' 160 Rhenish guilders, in weekly instalments of ten in cash, the other half of the sum being apparently represented by paper for the book. This Breviary for English use seems to have completely disappeared. There exists indeed an undated Missale ad usum Sarum printed with Wenssler's types (Proct. no. 7519), but the text of the agreement explicitly mentions Breviaries, and this cannot well be an error for Missals. It is more probable that the Sarum Missal was printed in 1489, and dispatched to England in November of the same year, when a passport was issued by the City Council to Hans Wiler, Jacob von Kilchen, and Michael Wenssler, who purposed to convey one small and four large barrels of books, all their own property, down the Rhine to Flanders and thence to England. Wenssler's weekly dole of guilders apparently did not enable him to pay his workmen's wages, and the matter was taken into court before Allgauer himself could be prevailed upon to settle their claims. Among the workmen is Ludwig von Elchingen, who had printed a small book with some of Wenssler's type in 1487, and is evidently identical with the Ludwig Hohenwang de Elchingen who had worked on a larger scale at Augsburg ten years previously.

The end was now fast approaching. Although his relations with Steinacher were now less agitated, Wenssler was totally unable to cope with his other

creditors. In August, 1490, distraint was levied on part of his effects, and records of claims against him multiply. Still his presses continued active, partly on Steinacher's account and partly on his own. At some date not specified during the year 1490, he handed over to Heinrich David and Heinrich Ingoldt 'ninety-nine printed Missals, unbound, of the diocese of Worms, and fifty small books called *Sermones Ruperti*,' in settlement of a debt. A copy of the Worms Missal is described in J. Baer & Co.'s Lagercatalog 585, No. 565, but what the '*Sermones Ruperti*' may have been is not very evident; no book answering to such a title seems to be registered as Wenssler's. In January, 1491, a similar procedure was adopted to satisfy a demand for 120 guilders, 'long overdue,' on the part of Hanns von Kilchen, a councillor—800 copies of a Breviary for the use of Trier were to be printed, Hanns von Kilchen adding 70 guilders in cash and 60 guilders' worth of paper to his original loan to enable Wenssler to make a start; each quire as it was finished was to be delivered up to Hanns, who was to recoup himself to the extent of his total outlay by the sale of the books, any profit which might accrue over and above this going to the printer. Here again we must stand by the letter of the entry, and say that no trace of these Breviaries remains, although a Trier Missal exists (Pr., No. 7518). On 15th March appears the record of another suit brought by two parties of Wenssler's workmen. The first party complained that they had printed for Wenssler an edition '*des Werkes difficilium terminorum*,'

but had not received the money which he had agreed to pay them on its completion, although the book had been immediately reprinted, and the rest of the workmen duly paid off. These latter declared that Wenssler had in the first instance contracted with them for the printing of the book, but had fallen ill while it was being printed, and that the whole edition was thereupon sold by his wife, who received a third of the price and part of their wages in cash. Allgauer had then invited them to print a second edition, saying that the presses were his property, and had paid them for it when it was finished. Mistress Wenssler deposed that her husband never approved this arrangement, and still considered that he and not Allgauer should have taken the profits of the second edition. Finally, Allgauer's representative asserted that Wenssler had in fact given his consent, and that, besides, Allgauer had found the paper and all other necessities for the second edition. The court held that the first set of workmen had made out their case. There are several points of interest about all this. In the first place, the two editions in question of Armandus de Bellouisu, '*Declaratio difficilium terminorum*,' can hardly be other than those dated respectively '*Prima Marcij*' and '*primo Kalendis Aprilibus*,' 1491, and entered by Proctor (Nos. 7588, 7589) under Johann Amerbach, with the note '[For M. Wenssler].' His remark in the prefatory note under Wenssler—'the two books of 1491 were printed when Wenssler no longer possessed a press'—is of course literally correct, since the presses were now Steinacher's

property; but it is abundantly clear from the foregoing that all the books of 1490 and 1491 were printed by Wenssler himself under agreement with Steinacher, and have no connection whatever with Amerbach. But then a difficulty at once arises: if these two editions are really those discussed in court, why has the later, at any rate, been post-dated by more than a fortnight (the case having been tried on 15th March)? Certainly the month-dates found in colophons are often rather suspect, since many compositors seem to have been somewhat vague as to the exact force of the terms 'Kalends,' 'Ides,' and 'Nones,' but so wide a margin of ignorance or carelessness as this would seem to imply is really startling. The matter is further complicated by the colophon of an edition of the '*Paradisus Animae*' which asserts that it was '*Michael wenssler . . . laboribus et impensis proprijs elaboratum*' on the very same day, '*primo Kalendis aprilibus*,' of 1491. Were these two books really, by some strange coincidence, finished off within a few hours of each other? Or, because the first issue of the *Armandus* had been dated in March, was the second dated in April as a rough and ready distinction? Or are we to suppose that there were three issues, the first of which has now completely disappeared, and that only the first two figured in the lawsuit?¹ No satisfactory answer to these questions is possible.

¹ This last view might seem to be slightly strengthened by the fact that whereas the 'March' issue contains no printer's name, the 'April' issue proclaims itself produced '*Impensis Michaelis wensler*,' and not '*Jacobi Allgauer*,' as one would more naturally expect.

Finally, it appears from the testimony of the compositors that in Basel at this date the rule was to contract with the necessary number of journeymen for doing a certain piece of work in return for a certain definite sum, and to pay them the whole amount as soon as the work was finished. It would be interesting to know whether this was everywhere the usual practice, and whether it applied only to smaller books, such as the 'Amandus.' One imagines that in the case of large books requiring a long time to print the men must have received something on account, as they could scarcely be expected to go for months without any payment at all.

The two books of 1st April, 1491, are the last known to have been printed at Basel by Wenssler. A few weeks after that date he had fled the city. It is possible to make a guess that the immediate cause was the lawsuit already alluded to in which Veit Varbenbrenner was the original plaintiff. Allgauer, it appears, had 'some time previously' lent Wenssler a further 150 guilders, and Wenssler had given him as surety 200 copies of an unspecified Missal, at the same time affirming on oath that he had not previously pledged them to anybody else. Varbenbrenner now claimed them as his property on behalf of the Widerei, and brought an action against Allgauer for wrongfully withholding them. Wenssler in his turn accused Varbenbrenner of having forged one of the documents in the case. The quarrel became so violent, and the parties displayed such obvious malice in the recklessness of their charges against each other

—Varbenbrenner in particular ‘spoke many evil words,’ as the records note—that at last the City Fathers were constrained to lock up both Wenssler and his opponent on a charge of perjury to keep them quiet. A formal intervention of the Count of Zweibrücken on behalf of Varbenbrenner and the Widerei, with the consequent prospect of ‘international complications,’ seems to have roused great resentment against Wenssler among the authorities, and the Council passed resolutions, not only that he should be kept under lock and key so long as the credit of the city might be considered in any way involved in the affair, but that he should afterwards be expelled from Basel altogether if the judicial enquiry offered any reasonable pretext for doing so.¹

That Wenssler had indeed brought himself within reach of the law is unhappily only too probable. In his desperate embarrassment the chance of a further advance from Allgauer seems to have been too great a temptation, and he gave in pledge to Allgauer the Missals he had already sold to the Widerei. It is true that he was not long in custody; the quarrel with Varbenbrenner was patched up by the mediation of ‘the men of Strassburg,’ and the Count of Zweibrücken ceased from troubling after a time. But Wenssler, having alienated in Allgauer the one man still willing to help him, now gave up the struggle in despair,

¹ This, at any rate, seems to be the meaning of the words: ‘*Was man aber jnn mit Recht siner Verhandlung nach [mag?] dazu bringen, dz man sin gantz abkomen mocht, ware das best*’ (Stehlin, No. 1221).

and about the middle of May slunk out of Basel, a ruined man, leaving his unfortunate wife to face matters out. On the 18th she was summoned for a debt which she owed jointly with her husband, it being already rumoured that he had fled. This she denied, saying that he was away on urgent business which he had been too ill to attend to, and begging that the case might be adjourned for a fortnight, when he would be back. The court granted the delay, but enjoined her to sell none of her property meantime, whereupon she significantly requested to be allowed to sell some part of it, as she and her children had nothing to eat. On 7th July Wenssler's creditors appeared in court 'in mergklicher zal,' stating that he had not returned and no one knew what had become of him, and demanding that an inventory of all assets might be made, as he had taken a number of things away with him and there was little left in the house. The wife declared through Heinrich Gredler, her procurator, that her husband had 'leider eben liederlich huss gehalten,' and if he had listened to her advice things would not have come to this pass. She herself and her children were now destitute, and could not pay her husband's debts, so that she could not oppose the application. The officials sent to make the inventory found 'in the attics a few bedsteads without any bedclothes, in the bedroom a few boxes and chests, all quite empty and nothing in them, and one bedstead with bolsters and pillows. In the workshop are only the presses and their wooden gear, the formes and type and melting-pots are all

gone. In the kitchen is a range, with a few pots and pans, in a closet imperfect books and such like printed stuff all thrown together in a heap.' Wenssler was thereupon officially declared a defaulter and fugitive, and by October of the next year the same fate had overtaken his wife, who fled the city to escape arrest for the debt, leaving only 'trumpery' behind her. It is a melancholy ending to a career begun with so much promise.

Wenssler's later career can still be traced up to a certain point.¹ First of all he made his way to Lyon, where it appears that he hired a fresh printing outfit from Matthias Huss. Equipped with this, he was in a position to pursue his former policy of printing service-books for use in a particular diocese, but he now brought his presses with him and printed on the spot, instead of on speculation at a distance, as in his Basel days. Thus he completed a 'Breviarium Cluniacense' and a 'Missale Cluniacense' at Cluny in 1492 and June, 1493, respectively, and a 'Diurnale Matisconense' at Mâcon in March of the following year. But there was apparently little money now in this branch of the business. The colophon of the Cluny Missal tells us with bitter irony that it was produced 'plus affectu deuotionis quam lucrandi causa,' and by April, 1495, Wenssler was back in Lyon, where he resumed another of his old specialities, the production of large legal folios, three of which he printed in the same year. He apparently became a person of some consequence

¹ See Rondot, 'Les Graveurs sur bois et les Imprimeurs de Lyon au XV^e siècle.'

in Lyonnese printing circles, and continued at Lyon until 1498, when he was involved in a most discreditable quarrel with another printer concerning a certain Marguerite la Picarde; a free fight among the company ended in a man being killed, and Wenssler appears to have fled the city in consequence. In March, 1499, the Basel Council gave him a conditional safe conduct back into their city in order to come to terms with his 'Widersacher und Ansprecher'; his then place of residence is unfortunately not indicated. This is the last we hear of him directly, but he was dead by 1512, when his widow is mentioned as living at Lyon.

VICTOR SCHOLDERER.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

NOTWITHSTANDING the strictures of M. Jules Lemaître, Arthur Meyer's 'Ce que je peux dire' is an interesting and entertaining book. Many contemporary developments are touched on with insight and with wit. The pages on 'The decay of the salon' give much food for thought. They might almost be entitled 'The decay of conversation in modern society,' a fact that is a significant sign of the times. M. Meyer, who is, of course, only dealing with Paris, suggests two causes: the rise of the club, 'cette singerie Anglaise,' as he impolitely phrases it, and the spread of the cosmopolitan spirit which

'étend ses ravages sur la société, à travers tous les pays, en lui enlevant toute physionomie qui lui soit propre, c'est-à-dire toute physionomie nationale. . . . Tous les salons se ressemblent . . . c'est le même personnel, le même décor, la même toilette du même faiseur, le même culte de l'argent, le même snobisme, le même goût de la publicité, la même effroi des questions sérieuses, et le même langage dans les langues différentes. On ne cause plus, on babille; on ne danse plus, on sautille; on ne fait pas le cour, on flirte; on a des fantaisies, on ignore l'amour. Autrefois l'on s'enlevait; aujourd'hui on négocie, on s'arrange.'

And, as if to prove his point, M. Meyer gives many samples of the conversation of well-known French men and women of letters in the eighties. Here are some remarks, for example, made by François Coppée on Béranger :

‘ Si vous voulez couronner parmi les poètes modernes un héritier, des Grecs, il y en a un : c’est Béranger. L’art grec, c’est la perfection. Qu’y a-t-il de plus parfait, de plus harmonieux en son genre que certaines chansons de Béranger? . . . Au moins celui-là n’a pas larmoyé en amour comme les romantiques et comme nous-mêmes.’

Coppée pays also a fine tribute to Dumas *père*—

‘ le plus puissant, le plus prodigieux inventeur en littérature, celui qui est à la fois l’historien dont l’histoire ressemble le plus au roman, et le romancier dont les écrits ont au plus haut point le relief de la vie : c’est Alexandre Dumas—oui—Alexandre Dumas, le père.

‘ Un jour tout ce que nous avons écrit, et d’autres plus grands que nous, aura probablement péri ; mais d’Artagnan et Monte-Cristo continueront de vivre dans l’imagination populaire. Les hommes ne les oublieront pas. C’est la grande marque et le privilège du génie.’

I have now read Jules Lemaître’s delightful lectures on Chateaubriand, and they should certainly be studied in conjunction with the books referred to in the April number of ‘THE LIBRARY.’ In his final criticism of Chateaubriand, M. Lemaître is in his happiest vein. He declares, after pointing out some of Chateaubriand’s defects, that he possesses certain—

‘ sentiments allégeants tels que la piété sans beaucoup de foi, la fantaisie de juger les choses vraies, dans la mesure,

où elles sont belles, et une sorte de mélancolie qui est une défense enchantée contre la douleur: sentiments peu sociaux dont il ne faut pas vivre, mais qu'il est bon de connaître.'

And he leaves him with the phrase, 'il est l'inventeur d'une nouvelle façon d'être triste.'

The 'Correspondance et Fragments inédits' of Eugène Fromentin is an attractive volume. It is well edited by Pierre Blanchon, who issued in 1909 Fromentin's 'Lettres de Jeunesse.' The new collection covers the period from Fromentin's settling in Paris in 1849 until his death in 1876. It contains a number of letters written to and by George Sand between 1857 and 1866. Fromentin, following the French custom, sent her a copy of his 'L'été dans le Sahara.' She was charmed with it, and replied that she had never read anything 'de plus artiste et de plus maître.' Indeed there was much resemblance between them on the artistic side of their temperaments, and they fell easily into the habit of writing to each other, and Fromentin paid a few visits to George Sand at Nohaut, to the great satisfaction and enjoyment of both.

The letters in the volume afford glimpses of the Empire and its social life. Fromentin writes to his wife from Compiègne, where he visited Napoleon III. and the Empress Eugénie in 1864. Among his fellow guests were Meissonier, Dumas, Flaubert, and Augier. They were all lodged in the same wing of the castle. It was in November, and Fromentin's chief impression seems to have been of the intense cold. 'J'ai une antichambre,

un salon, une chambre à coucher, deux cabinets de toilette, une chambre de domestique, une forêt dans la cheminée, la Sibérie à deux pas du feu.' But he is delighted with the 'extrême affabilité de la part des maîtres de la maison.' Fromentin was also present as a guest at the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and for the first time saw Egypt and the Nile—'le pays magnifique et le Nil un des plus beaux fleuves qu'il y ait au monde.' He brought back with him notes on Egypt, forming material for a book that was unhappily never written. At a dinner once, where Goncourt was present, Fromentin talked about Egypt—'Ah! ces heures! Je veux écrire quelque chose sur ces heures. . . . Simplement afin de m'en redonner la sensation.' And we are told that he went on to describe the country with a memory which had 'le souvenir du jour, du vent, du nuage, une mémoire locale inouïe, mettant avec la couleur de sa parole sous nos yeux les tournants du Nil, les aspects des pylônes, les silhouettes des petits villages, les lignes cahotées de la chaîne Libyque, comme s'il nous en montrait les esquisses.'

The letters to his family and his friends during the Franco-German War are a running commentary on the events of the time. The Fromentins were in Venice when war was declared, but immediately returned to their home at Saint-Maurice, near La Rochelle, and there endured the terrible anxiety and suspense.

The following letter, dated 26th March, 1871, shows the point of view taken of the events of the Commune by men of Fromentin's stamp :

‘La situation est affreuse. Je n’ai jamais éprouvé de douleur patriotique plus profonde, ni si totalement, perdu tout espoir. La guerre n’était rien, ce qui se passe aujourd’hui n’a de nom dans aucune langue politique.

‘Si j’étais *libre*, je quitterais la France, sans aucun regret, sans aucun remords. Je me sens délié de tout ce qui m’attachait à mon pays par le dégoût, la honte de lui appartenir et le mépris. Je n’aime plus de la France que son histoire, son passé qui ne revivra plus.’

Fromentin’s finest book, ‘Les Maîtres d’Autrefois,’ published in 1875, was the outcome of a journey in Belgium and Holland. In the volume before us we have, so to speak, a rough draft in the shape of notes and letters written on the spot. They were afterwards worked up into what seems to me to be one of the best books ever written on pictures and their painters.

In ‘Une Année dans le Sahel’ and ‘Le Sahara’ Fromentin is the ancestor of Loti in his talent for bringing out the charm of exotic lands. This is seen also in his paintings, as those acquainted with the examples to be found in the Louvre and at Chantilly must feel. He wrote one romantic novel, ‘Dominique’ (1862), which was characterised by the critic Edmond Schérer as ‘une œuvre exquise, distinguée, sans note fausse, une vieille histoire des jeunes amours,’ destined not for a numerous public, but for ‘gens de goût.’ Fromentin died 27th August, 1876.

By way of introducing those who are not acquainted with his work to Bernard Shaw, M. Charles Cestre has published a book entitled ‘Bernard Shaw et son œuvre.’ Cestre’s classification

of the plays is curious. He puts them under the five heads: social realism, psychology, love, ethics, and sociology. He might almost be dealing with a Shakespeare! The dramas themselves are destined for 'une élite pensante.' The complexity of Shaw's work responds, so Cestre finds, to the complex soul of the modern (I wonder if it is so complex after all), and he writes, 'Cette littérature de contradictions et de contrastes plaît à notre époque inquiète, indécise et raffinée.'

It might almost be said of Romain Rolland that he adorns everything he touches, at least, he gives an original turn to any subject he treats. In his volume on 'Michel-Ange' he complains that most biographers of Michael Angelo study his genius in fragments, but to understand it properly it must be studied as a whole. The painter, the sculptor, the architect, the poet must be considered, for he breathed into all those arts 'le vertige de sa force et de son idéalisme. Rolland believes that what he calls the 'common-sense' geniuses are the most useful to mankind. 'Les héros de l'art en sont aussi les tyrans: leur gloire tue; plus ils sont grands, plus ils sont à craindre, car ils imposent à tous les hommes les lois d'une personnalité qui ne fut et ne sera jamais qu'une fois. Ce sont les puissances dévorantes. Ils l'éclairent mais ils brûlent.' No one understands great men of that stamp, yet all imitate them, whereas they should never be used as models in art: so employed they can only stultify the student. They are examples of energy, they are suns in power and in

beauty. 'Il faut se retremper un instant dans leur lumière, puis s'arracher à leur contemplation, et agir.' It is a point of view I do not remember to have seen put in this way before.

'Le travail dans le monde romain,' by Paul Louis, comes at an opportune moment, when conditions of labour are so largely occupying the public mind. In the successive phases of the organization of work, Rome shows the continuity and unity that marks her general history. The author describes the various aspects of the economic activity of a people with whom for a long time war was the sole industry. The policy of Rome was 'interventionniste.' The individual was of no account, from the service of the family he passed to that of the state. The state took charge of everything, regulated all labour, and because from the very beginning the people had so high a reverence for the state, they were only mildly angry when the state interfered with their rights. When the vitality of the universal bureaucracy was sapped, Rome fell. It is a most interesting book, and might be studied with profit by some modern labour leaders.

Interesting reflections on contemporary life and religion may be found in the 'Mélanges historiques et littéraires' of S. E. le Cardinal Mathieu. He was author, orator, bishop, and man of action, an ardent and enthusiastic servant of the Church and of his country. His sermons, especially his 'discourses de mariage,' are full of good things. He believed in the benefits of state education and in the efficacy of work.

Indeed, one of the finest sermons printed here is an exhortation to work, the illustrations being drawn from the habits of ants. His funeral sermon on Macmahon is full of significance. After describing him as 'le héros de nos gloires, la victime de nos désastres,' the cardinal continues: 'Macmahon fut entraîné dans la politique à son corps défendant. Sans avoir ni les qualités ni les défauts qui font qu'on y réussit . . . il était honnête homme.' Clever epigrams are scattered through all the writings. 'Exposés à la faillite du bonheur, il faut surtout nous attacher au devoir,' is one of the happy phrases to be found on almost every page.

During a recent visit to France, the works of Jules Renard were brought to my notice. He died a couple of years ago, and is scarcely known out of his own country. Yet his writings must appeal to all who appreciate French genius on its most attractive and characteristic side. He wrote chiefly little plays like 'Poil de Carotte' and 'Pain de Menage,' some slight sketches and a few short tales. His prose is admirable, his dialogue full of pointed wit. More often than not his subjects are on the fringe of the tragic. The most important revelations are made in the most simple fashion, without emphasis, and yet they suffice. Take, for instance, the following dialogue between Poil de Carotte and his father, M. Lepic. The little boy is always treated by his mother as a sort of Cinderella, a slave of all work, and at last he can bear it no longer and determines to speak out to his father:—

'Poil de Carotte : Je veux quitter cette maison.

'M. Lepic : Qu'est-ce que tu dis ?

'P. de C. : Je voudrais quitter cette maison.

'M. Lepic. : Parceque ?

'P. de C. : Parceque je n'aime plus ma mère.

'M. Lepic : Et moi, crois-tu donc que je l'aime ?'

The little play has lately been revived at the Français. In the words of one of the critics, 'Voici encore une chose fine.' To anyone tired of the usual run of contemporary French novels and plays, I confidently recommend the works of Jules Renard.

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The following recently published books deserve attention :—

Etudes sur l'année 1813. L'intervention de l'Autriche (Decembre, 1812—Mai, 1813). Par Vte. Jean d'Ussel.

Gives a rigorously exact presentment of facts, and forms a continuation to the same author's 'La défection de la Prusse.'

Les drames de l'histoire. Par Comte Fleury.

Deals with the adventures of Mesdames de France during the emigration, of Madame de Lavalette and of Gaspard Hauser.

1871, la commune à Paris et en province (Février-Mai). Par Lieut.-Colonel Rousset.

An epitome of the events from 18th March to 29th May, rather than a detailed history. The book contains some interesting portraits.

Correspondance inédite de Napoléon I^{er} conservée aux archives de la guerre. Publiée par Ernest Picard et Louis Tuetey. Vol. I., 1804-7.

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The letters are almost exclusively military, and thus serve to facilitate an exhaustive study of the history of the great wars of the First Empire. The book is, indeed, as valuable for the general instruction of the army as for the work of historians and scholars.

Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène, 1815-21. Par Frédéric Masson.

The author claims to have here set forth not impressions, but facts based on sources English and European, on English and French testimony found in authentic documents.

Initiation philosophique. Par Emile Faguet.

A textbook of philosophy, very short and concise, from Socrates to Bergson.

Delphine de Sabran, Marquise de Custine. Par Gaston Maugras et le C^{te} P. de Croze-Lemercier.

The life and loves of a woman during and after the Revolution. A succession of famous names pass across the pages. It is all a curious 'mélange.' The lack of literary form lowers the interest of material that with greater skill should have made an arresting tale.

Sébastien Zamet, évêque-duc de Langres (1588-1655). Sa vie et ses œuvres. Les origines du Jansénisme. Par Louis N. Prunel.

Zamet is well known to students of seventeenth century history, but this is the first attempt 'de faire revivre dans un tableau d'ensemble la physionomie morale de ce prélat.' Zamet was a friend of Richelieu, and from 1625 to 1636 Director of the Port Royal.

Les Rapports de Bossuet avec l'Angleterre (1672-1704). Par G. Lambin.

A modest contribution by a young student to comparative literature, ending with a very interesting 'aperçu' of Bossuet's opinion on England.

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Among new novels the following are the most important :—

Les deux cahiers. Par Paul Acker.

Madeleine Jeune Femme. Par René Boylesve.

Missette. Par Marcel Prévost.

Contains three stories, each a study of a woman.

Lilla. Scènes de la vie corse. Par J. B. Natali.

Shows the Corsicans to be still a primitive people in their passions and morals.

Un Obstacle. Par Jean de la Brète.

L'élève Gilles. Par André Lafon.

A study of a little boy's thoughts which has been awarded by the French Academy the newly instituted 'Grand Prix de Littérature.' I wonder, however, if the author does not attribute to the child thoughts likely to occur only to older persons.

Le marché aux fleurs. Par Marcel Boulenger.

Ille Mihi. Von Elizabeth von Heyking.

Umweg. Von Hermann Hesse.

Five short stories.

Gabriel Schillings Flucht. Von Gerhart Hauptmann.

A drama in five acts dealing with the ruin of a man for whom two women, his commonplace wife and a fascinating Russian, struggle. An old story, and, alas! here treated in very commonplace fashion.

ELIZABETH LEE.

THE LITERARY OUTPUT OF DANIEL DEFOE.

IN 1715, when Defoe was in the fifty-fifth year of his age, it is recorded that he suffered from an apoplectic seizure, which is usually considered one of the most fruitful sources of cerebral debility. Can we find that this affection had any influence on the amount of literary work he produced?

During the previous year, 1714, he had produced, according to William Lee, 28 quarto and 313 octavo printed pages; while during 1715, the year in which this indisposition occurred, he issued 849 octavo and 444 duodecimo pages; but it is noticeable that while 1,167 of these pages appeared before 14th July, only 126 were given to the world during the five and half later months of that year, and the production of the following year, 1716, amounted to only 134 octavo pages in all. The year 1717 saw 873 octavo pages produced, and in 1718 663 pages (259 8vo and 404 12mo) were issued.

Up till the commencement of the year 1719, Defoe is credited with 190 published writings, nearly all of them political in character; but in this year of 1719 he began to produce copious works of an entirely different nature, while still

continuing to write political pamphlets, and still being engaged in editing and superintending various journals of the period. The new ventures, including the two first volumes of 'Robinson Crusoe,' amounted in 1719 to 940 octavo pages, and the political pamphlets to 195 octavo pages—making in all 1,135 pages. The success of the new venture being great, Defoe is assumed to have pursued this new vein of writing to such an extent as to have produced nearly as much in the succeeding ten years of his life, when he was between fifty-eight and sixty-eight years of age, as he had written in the first fifty-eight, although he is said in these first fifty-eight years to have 'given to the world a greater number of distinct works than any other living writer.' The following table shows his annual output from 1719 to 1728:

OCTAVO PAGES			OCTAVO PAGES		
1719 -	-	1,135	1724 -	-	1,236
1720 -	-	1,485	1725 -	-	1,348
1721 -	-	36	1726 -	-	1,586
1722 -	-	1,556	1727 -	-	2,061
1723 -	-	483	1728 -	-	527
TOTAL - - 11,453 octavo pages.					

While thus engaged Defoe was editing or conducting—

- (1) a monthly publication of nearly one hundred pages;
- (2) a paper published weekly;
- (3) another paper appearing thrice a week; and
- (4) for a great part of the time a fourth paper issued weekly.

Among the works published in 1720 are three separate biographies requiring over 1,000 octavo printed pages, all of which appeared between 30th April and 4th June. When we examine the matter contained in these thousand pages of so-called romances, we find them recording historical scenes at which Defoe could not have been present, and yet not only do they give the impression of truth, but they stand the test of historical investigation.

In the same way during the years 1724-27, being then from sixty-three to sixty-six years old, Defoe is credited with having issued 6,231 octavo pages—*i.e.*, an average of 1,558 octavo pages per annum. Among these are found 2,000 pages of romance, 1,612 pages of works on the Arts, 1,249 pages describing a tour by the author through Great Britain, a political essay of over 400 pages, and a moral essay of over 300 pages.

In the face of this marvellous and almost incredible fertility, it seems not unreasonable to ask whether Defoe could have had one or more imitators, and thus have acted as the manager of a literary partnership; or was he really, as he frequently averred, only the editor, and not the creator, of some of these works?

W. L. PURVES.

CAMBRIDGE FRAGMENTS.

POSTSCRIPT.¹

[*Reprinted from the 'Christ's College Magazine,' Vol. XXVI, No. 79.*]



CAN now hazard a safer suggestion as to the artist of the beam-paper described and reproduced in the last number of the 'Christ's College Magazine.' There can be little doubt that he was none other than Hugo Goes, whose work is described in Herbert's 'Typographical Antiquities,' Vol. III, p. 1439, and by Mr. Gordon Duff in his 'English Provincial Printers' (Sandars Lectures 1911). The description of a woodcut by him printed at Beverley, and since lost, is sufficiently interesting to bear transcription:

A wooden cut of a man on horseback with a spear in his right hand and a shield, with the arms of France in his left. Emprinted at Beverley in the Hye-gate by me Hewe Goes with his mark or rebus of a great H and a goose.

¹ The original article in 'THE LIBRARY' of October, 1911, was reprinted in the 'Christ's College Magazine,' Vol. XXVI, No. 79, with additional notes. The Postscript here reprinted from the College Magazine contains the more important addition to the information there given.—C. S.

Goes was living in Steengate, York, and printing there on 18th February, 1509. For his London work I may refer the reader to Mr. Duff's volume.¹

But since this foregoing additional paragraph was written I have had the advantage (23rd May, 1912²) of showing these fragments to Mr. Duff himself. He not only confirms my *δεύτεραι φροντίδες*, but points out to me that Goes was himself the printer of a proclamation.³ What more likely then that these proclamations were printed by Goes himself? Mr. Duff further points out that the type of one of the three proclamations is not exactly Pynson's type, and that the initial letter is a close copy of a Pynson initial, but not an actual Pynson block. I have myself drawn attention to the fact that the wood-block at the head of the proclamation is not exactly one known to have been used by Pynson.⁴ Moreover, Mr. Duff is of opinion that the types of the three proclamations do not exactly agree. It is possible, therefore, that

¹ See also G. Oliver, 'History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley,' 1829, 4°, p. 175. The author of that work asserts that Goes was printing at Beverley in 1506.

² Exactly twelve months since their first discovery.

³ Herbert, 'Typ. Ant.' III. 1437.

⁴ 'Christ's College Magazine,' Vol. XXVI, p. 56, note 2. ['By an oversight in examining Mr. Steele's book I did not notice the series of blocks reproduced on p. 449 of his second volume. The cut of the royal arms and angels is similar to, but not identical with, his block No. 2, used by Pynson. Ours may be identified by the fact that the single tuft of grass on the left consists of four blades and not of three. There is another border ornament not mentioned in the text, nor reproduced by Mr. Steele, containing two birds.']

we are here in possession of some of the actual printing of Hugo Goes, of which no other vestige remains.

But why should Hugo Goes be at work in Christ's College, for Lady Margaret's new Lodge, when she was employing Wynkyn de Worde¹ as her printer? The reply to this enquiry has led me further afield. On 11th July, 1907, I saw Beverley Minster for the first time, little expecting to turn my experiences there to account in this manner afterwards. But while investigating lately the claims of Goes to the production of the Christ's College beam-paper, it occurred to me that I had heard of some connection between Christ's College and Beverley before. No light, however, was thrown upon this, either in C. H. Cooper's 'Life of Lady Margaret,' or in Oliver's 'History of Beverley.' In despair, I wrote to Mr. John Bickersteth, of Cottingham, who had kindly entertained me on the occasion of my visit, and had shewn me the glories of the Minster, and of St. Mary's Church, and my patience was rewarded.² *Bishop Fisher was born in Beverley.* What more natural, therefore, than that Fisher and Goes should have been acquainted, and that Fisher, in advising Lady Margaret in her work at her new

¹ 'Christ's College Magazine,' Vol. XXVI, p. 52.

² Letter from Miss Ruth Bickersteth, 21st May, 1912. If the suggestion thrown out in these concluding lines is ultimately found to be based on fact, it is a curiously interesting comment upon the opinion of Mr. T. D. Barlow ('Christ's College Magazine,' *loc. cit.* p. 54) that the block of the beam-paper was executed by a Cambridge workman. Fisher, in fact, was employing local talent.

foundation at Cambridge, should have employed a Beverley man?

Truly does Mr. Duff conclude his last Sandars Lectures on Bibliography, to which I have already alluded, with the words which I am never tired of quoting:

‘Perhaps what has struck you most is how much we have yet to learn on the subject, how little we really know. A good deal of what has been said has been, not about books which we possess, but about books which we have lost. A cloud of obscurity still hangs over the subject, but the cloud has a silver lining. Think how much there still remains for us to discover.’

CHARLES SAYLE.

REVIEWS.

Miniaturen aus Handschriften der Kgl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München. Herausgegeben von Dr. Georg Leidinger. Heft 1. Das sogenannte Evangeliarium Kaiser Ottos III. Riehn & Tietze, München. pp. 23. With 52 plates.



AS a repository of illuminated manuscripts the Royal Library at Munich has few superiors. Indeed, its wealth in German illumination, especially of that notable period of the Ottonian dynasty, when Germany enjoyed an artistic hegemony that has but rarely fallen to her lot, is almost unrivalled. Dr. Leidinger has already done good service towards making its treasures better known through his useful 'Verzeichnis' of its most important illuminated manuscripts; and his present undertaking, which proposes a complete reproduction of their miniatures in a series of separate monographs, deserves the cordial support of all who are interested in mediæval art.

The subject of this, the opening number of the series, is aptly chosen. Few volumes in the library, probably, have been more widely discussed than the famous Gospel-book (Cimel. 58, Cod. lat. 4453) which Dr. Leidinger, with characteristic caution, entitles '*Das sogenannte Evangeliarium Kaiser Ottos III.*'; and the bone of contention, the two-page dedication-picture, has often been reproduced. But students have hitherto been compelled, in default of an actual pilgrimage to Munich,

to content themselves with this and the few other pages which have been published, mostly on a greatly reduced scale, by Vöge ('Eine deutsche Malerschule um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends'), Haseloff ('Codex Gertrudianus'), and others: an unsatisfying diet, which only whets the appetite for a full meal such as that provided in these admirable autotype plates.

In his introduction Dr. Leidinger makes no attempt to supersede Vöge's masterly description of the manuscript, but gives a very careful and judicious summary of the literature of the subject, as well as a complete bibliography of each of the plates. In one modest sentence he signifies his adherence to Vöge's view, that the Emperor portrayed in the dedication-picture is probably Otto III. rather than Henry II.; and for our own part we have very little doubt that he is right. Absolute proof is not forthcoming at present, and perhaps never will be; but the whole style of the book, its obvious kinship with the Gospels and Psalter of Archbishop Egbert, seem to indicate Otto rather than his successor—apart from the other considerations which tend in the same direction. Its birthplace is, like its precise age, a matter of controversy; but there can be no doubt that it was produced at any rate under the influence of the Reichenau school. Its known history goes no further back than 1736, when it was in the Treasury of Bamberg Cathedral; it was transferred thence to Munich in 1803.

Like so many of the most sumptuous manuscripts of the early Middle Ages, it contains the Four Gospels

in Latin, preceded by the tables of Eusebian Canons. The latter are placed in elaborately decorated arcades or porticoes of the usual Carolingian style, lightened occasionally with spirited and amusing figures of birds or men. The dedication-picture, which follows the Canons, represents an Emperor enthroned between prelates and warriors, receiving tribute from female personifications of Rome, Gaul, Germany, and Slavonia. The miniatures of the four Evangelists are striking compositions of an unusual type, full of symbolic imagery; and the illustrations of the life and parables of Christ are very curious and interesting, showing, like those in the Codex Egberti, distinct reminiscences of the early Italo-Byzantine manner. In short, this manuscript is an important document for the history of Christian art, and Dr. Leidinger has earned our warm gratitude.

J. A. H.

Die Kultur des modernen England in Einzeldarstellungen, etc. Bd. 1. Dr. E. Schulze, *die geistige Hebung der Volksmassen in England.* Bd. 2. Dr. E. Schulze, *Volksbildung und Volkswohlfahrt in England.* Bd. 3. Prof. Dr. H. W. Singer, *der Præ-Raphaelitismus in England.* Bd. 4. Berlepsch-Valendás, *die Gartenstadtbewegung in England. Ihre Entwicklung und ihr jetziger Stand.*

This series, published under the auspices of the Deutsch-Englisches Verständigungskomitee, is an admirable enterprise, to judge by its first four volumes. It is inexpensive and well got up, and

each book provides the German reader in a small compass with an excellent summary of the particular subject under discussion. The English reader, too, will find it very stimulating to see how his familiar notions appear in the dress of a foreign language and regarded from a foreign point of view. All the authors are very fair and reasonable in their estimates, and in particular it is gratifying to find how many kind things Herr von Berlepsch finds to say of Bournville, Letchworth, and the rest of our garden cities. This volume, with its excellent plans and illustrations, is perhaps the pick of the batch. Altogether the series may be cordially welcomed as a most praiseworthy attempt to enlighten that ignorance of each other's ways of thinking and doing which is beyond question the greatest obstacle to peace between the nations.

V. S.

Victoria and Albert Museum Guides. Dickens Exhibition. March to October, 1912. With 8 illustrations. London: Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1912. Price Sixpence. pp. 63.

The congested condition of the April number of THE LIBRARY, which contained sixteen pages in excess of its normal number, crowded out a notice of this excellent Dickens Exhibition and no less excellent Guide. Since the Exhibition is still to be open for three months, this belated welcome may remind some readers of its existence. Through the bequest of John Forster the Victoria and Albert

Museum is splendidly rich in material relating to Charles Dickens, and it is improbable that any collection so rich in essentials as that here described could be got together elsewhere. It is true that Forster seems to have been unconscious of the charm of 'original wrappers,' and the largest fragment of the author's manuscript of 'Pickwick' is in the hands of an American collector, who has lately kindly given to the British Museum the leaf describing the immortal 'Swarry.' But here are MSS. of the 'Old Curiosity Shop,' part of 'Barnaby Rudge,' 'American Notes,' 'Martin Chuzzlewit,' 'The Chimes,' 'David Copperfield,' and many other books, besides corrected proofs, and numerous autograph letters. Through the bequest by Mrs. George Cruikshank of numerous prints and drawings by her husband these literary relics are supplemented by many interesting illustrations. The Guide describing all these treasures will be valued by all who care for Dickens.


A. W. P.

THE LIBRARY.

DID SIR ROGER WILLIAMS WRITE THE MARPRELATE TRACTS?

[IN his two articles in 'THE LIBRARY' for April and July of this year, on 'Martin Marprelate and Shakespeare's Fluellen,' Mr. Dover Wilson proposed Sir Roger Williams as the most probable candidate for the authorship of the earlier Marprelate Tracts. These articles have aroused considerable interest, and it is therefore a pleasure to be able to print in this number the views of two other experts on the subject—the Rev. William Pierce, the latest editor of the Tracts themselves, and Mr. R. B. McKerrow, editor of the Works of the chief anti-Martinist writer, Thomas Nashe.—EDD.]

I.

R. J. DOVER WILSON has on former occasions lit up with his lively fancy the writings of Martin Marprelate. But his last two articles in 'THE LIBRARY' for April and July have given these old controversial documents almost the vivid interest of contemporary publications. To trace the unknown Puritan champion to Shakespeare's Fluellen is an adventure quite

Elizabethan in its romantic daring. And as I have the misfortune to differ with Mr. Wilson in his identification, I wish at once to recognise the extraordinary ingenuity and the wide acquaintance with the civil and ecclesiastical events of the time, whereby he has been able to discover so many interesting coincidences between the movements of the Elizabethan Welsh soldier, Sir Roger Williams, and the publication of the Marprelate Tracts, and to build up so complete and so plausible a theory of their authorship.

Incidental to his attempt to establish the Marprelate-Williams theory, Mr. Wilson has freshly explored both the Tracts and other related writings, and has given us a liberal crop of original and interesting ideas in regard to them, all of which I should be glad, if space allowed, to pass under review. Many of them are too important to be permanently neglected, and must of necessity enter into the next serious discussion of the Marprelate problem. On this occasion I confine myself almost entirely to the movements and personality of Sir Roger Williams. Following Mr. Wilson's track, I shall try to give an unbiassed consideration (so far as he may charitably think my standpoint permits it to be unbiassed) to this latest and most original of all the theories of the authorship of the Tracts.

Sir Roger Williams comes before us in the Armada year as an experienced military leader. For many years he has been engaged, as a soldier of fortune, in fighting the Spaniard in the Low Countries, establishing for himself a reputation for headlong courage, for ability of an eccentric type which

sometimes brought him splendid success even against great odds, and sometimes, as is ever the case with these semi-Quixotic champions, led him into signal disaster. In 1577 he served under Sir John Norreys, another dashing soldier of renown. In that campaign Norreys was challenged to single combat. It is entirely characteristic of Williams that when his leader declined the overtures, he should take up the challenge as gaily as if he hailed from Tipperary, and as the combat was indecisive that he should join his opponent in a friendly drinking-bout to finish up the event. In 1585 he joined Leicester's army; the year following he fought under General Schenk, always doing deeds of valour and greatly developing his military aptitudes.

When the attack of the Armada became imminent, Williams was with others busily employed in strengthening the defences of the country. But amidst all this military activity and excitement we are to believe that he was secretly preoccupied in a great religious controversy. Outwardly he appears to us, every inch of him, from plume to jack-boot, a dare-devil, fire-eating champion of Protestantism in general, and of England and her virgin Queen in particular. Really we are to try to believe him a Puritan zealot, a defender of the precise brethren, though not in all things as precise as they. He is reading and making notes of Dean Bridges' interminable quarto, 'A Defence of the order established.' At times he escapes from the hurly-burly of that memorable year to think out the ecclesiastical problem and read up the

authorities, securing John Field's notes, mysteriously getting information from John Udall, making the close acquaintance of Job Throckmorton the squire of Hasely, and John Penry the fervid advocate of the evangelisation of Wales. All this time nobody thought he had any definite religious sentiments worthy of record, except they allude to his belated death-bed repentance after his surfeit at Baynard's Castle. Moreover, he finds time and thought to write some of the most clever and witty chapters in the story of English religious controversy—pamphlets which for their originality and racy English style can only be named by way of contrast with Roger Williams's genuine writings. He was constantly consulted by Howard, the admiral, as one of a council of military and naval experts, to whom he referred in all his arrangements. In addition, when the camp was formed at Tilbury, Williams was given the busy post of Master of the Horse. Leicester, indeed, like all Williams's superior officers, complains of his insubordination. He absents himself without leave. But where we are able to trace his movements, it is not to attend a Puritan fast in London, but to scamper down to Dover with that other rare British fighting-cock, 'black Sir John Norreys,' to get sight of the Spanish galleons in the narrow seas. He returned to camp the next day. While the Marprelate press is busy at Midsummer and still later in the year at East Molesey, Williams remains at Tilbury. It is from the camp, on 12th August, he writes to Walsingham, not to disband the army, as the Armada will surely return refitted; and later from

the same place he sends news of the Spanish operations in the Netherlands. Still later he goes to those parts with Sir John Norreys. The only reason of his going is that he is poor, and must fight for a living. Leicester, begging the Queen to present him with a horse, states that he is too poor to buy it a saddle. He is not very solicitous about the fate of a tract which at that very time was about to create so great a sensation in England.

Williams returned before the close of the year to take part in the counter-Armada organised by Norreys and Drake with the aid of the Queen. In connection with this expedition Mr. Wilson makes his most startling suggestions and discovers his most significant coincidences. It is here, also, as I shall endeavour to show, that his difficulties become quite overwhelming.

First of all, in order to free our minds for the consideration of the facts as they are, we must strip the story of the air of mystery with which Mr. Wilson has invested it. This is one of the skilful methods whereby he impresses his views so vividly upon our imaginations. He puts on the manteau noir, touches his lips for silence, walks a-tiptoe; Penry is another Father Gapon, Essex a Grand Duke, and Roger Williams a recreant member of the Czar's military police. May I say that there is no hidden mystery—none whatever. The actions of all the principal persons involved are perfectly intelligible. Most of them are at pains to be entirely explicit. As for the Puritans, unless you reckon a plan of publication involving at most half-a-dozen persons, and entirely opposed to the great

body of Puritan opinion to be a conspiracy, then Puritan conspiracy there was none. It was a time of persecution. The expression of any opinion contrary to that of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities was sternly forbidden. The press was strictly censored. The gaols were full of Non-conformists; most of those of leading rank who were not in prison were beggared by ruinous fines. Therefore a literary campaign against the established order was necessarily conducted with secrecy. The Puritans engaged in this furtive undertaking were a mere handful of individuals; those outside sympathising with their enterprise were the smallest minority of the Puritan community. John Field died at the beginning of the year; before his death the 'collection' of which we hear so much, notes and anecdotes about the church dignitaries, he desired should be burnt. Cartwright was no conspirator and would have nothing to do with such disorderly proceedings. Udall, who indirectly and to his mortification supplied some of the information utilised by Marprelate, quite disapproved of the Tracts. Except quaint old Giles Wigginton, the constant victim of Whitgift's enmity, it is difficult to find a single leading Puritan who approved of the form and spirit of Marprelate's writings.

The connection of the Earl of Essex and Sir Roger Williams with the Portugal expedition is perfectly intelligible and entirely free from mystery. Essex's movements were well-considered and deliberately planned. It was not his first attempt to break the silken bonds which bound him to the

old Queen's skirts. In 1587 he attempted to get away to the siege of Sluys, and was only frustrated by the swift pursuit of Robert Cary, who overtook him before he reached Dover. This time Essex determined that his plans should not fail from a similar cause. He therefore covered the ground between London and Plymouth in a record time. But there was no unforeseen haste caused by some imaginary discovery. The motives of the young Earl were very intelligible. These military adventures, remarks his biographer, 'greatly appealed to Essex's temper.' A romantic military hero of the type of Roger Williams drew him as a magnet draws steel. The spirit of adventure was in the air, and the young Earl languished at court, the smoothed and patted lapdog of the now ageing Queen. Besides, he was bankrupt of funds, and saw in the expedition to Portugal a possible means of retrieving his fortunes. He is perfectly frank in explaining his position to Sir Francis Knollys. 'What my courses have been I need not repeat, for no man knoweth them better than yourself.' He computes his debts to be 'at the least two or three and twenty thousand pounds.' He can draw no further upon the Queen's goodness. 'If I should speed well I will adventure to be rich; if not, I will never live to see the end of my poverty.'¹ He subscribes this letter, let it be noted, 'some few days before my departure.' It was one of a bundle of forty letters addressed to various persons, the writing of which must have occupied him for some

¹ 'Lives of the Earls of Essex.' Devereux, p. 206.

time. The hour of his departure was not determined by Sir Roger Williams, who was not of his company on his swift ride to Plymouth. The Earl left London on 3rd April, so as to board the fleet just as it was leaving port, setting out secretly at night and travelling at such a pace that he could not possibly be overtaken. Mr. Wilson indeed says that 'on April 3rd [1589] there was no prospect at all of the fleet's departure; the winds were not only still adverse, but blowing a hurricane.' But he surely forgets that the Earl is in London and the fleet at Plymouth; that the weather in the metropolis is no reliable criterion of what it may be at the same hour away in the west on the confines of Cornwall. Granted that he had on the night he set out three-days-old news from Williams of the wind outside Plymouth, how could he have known in the year of grace 1589 what it would be on his arrival—that is, five days later than his report? All he knew was what we know so well, that the wind is changeable, and that a shift in its direction may happen at any hour in the twenty-four.

Further, we have to suppose that Waldegrave, the printer, received private notice from Essex to hurry at a break-neck pace so as to arrive at Plymouth at the same hour as himself, and sail away to Rochelle to print the long-expected Marprelate Tract, 'More Worke for the Cooper.' But on 3rd April, when Essex left London for the West, Waldegrave was loitering in the Midlands, in no apparent hurry to depart, but with a somewhat vague purpose of going to Devon to print

Cartwright's reply to the Rhemists. This also was the time when he declared that he had on conscientious grounds, after consulting several Puritan preachers, determined to have no further share in printing the writings of Marprelate; though, being in no sense a timid man, he continued the dangerous occupation of printing Puritan books. Moreover, there was the heavy printing gear to be taken to Plymouth. A cart with this load, starting from Coventry soon after 3rd April, would not have reached Plymouth on 18th April, when the fleet left for the Peninsula.

Not for the sake of all the Marprelates in the kingdom would the generals have delayed the departure of the fleet for an hour. They were in great straits owing to the contrary winds. The men, many of them the refuse of the larger towns, were getting out of hand, idling in the taverns at Plymouth. The large force was eating up the scanty stock of provisions. The author of 'The True Coppie' greatly regrets 'the moneth victuals we did eat the moneth we lay at Plimmouth for a wind.' Drake got snubbed by the Queen for writing from Coruña on May 8th for a further supply. So desperate was the case that at last, notwithstanding an unfavourable wind, the fleet 'thrust out to sea,' leaving behind a number of smaller craft which could not or would not 'double Ushant.' Essex in the 'Swiftsure' left Falmouth about the same time. He was as eager as any to get away; though he fled from London without the Queen's permission, and to Falmouth on the 'Swiftsure,' so that the order to return

should not reach him—when it did reach him he forthwith obeyed—yet he would not have dared wilfully to separate himself, together with the officers and men of his company, from the expedition. It is clear enough that his one object was to take part in it. Note also that once he boarded the ‘Swiftsure,’ he, and not Williams, is the principal person and directs its movements. It is in this strain that Williams, himself ignorant of the secret instructions given for the course of the fleet, criticises Drake for not sailing ‘streight to Lisborne as the Earle of Essex did.’¹ I do not think Essex had any sympathy whatever with Marprelacy. Everyone at court read the Tracts; he was the only one intimate enough and bold enough to offer one to the Queen. If he belonged to the party at court who opposed the bishops because of their claim to power over and above the civil law; those who would not only have humbled them by stripping them of some of their excessive emoluments, but were also ready to enrich themselves with the plunder; he would have found in Marprelate a determined opponent. With the above considerations before us we really need proceed no further to assure ourselves that Essex’s movements had no relation to the Marprelate press; that Waldegrave did not time his departure from the Midlands to fit in with Essex’s adventures; that in fact he could not, had he wished, have reached Falmouth with all his printing apparatus in time to leave with the ‘Swiftsure’;

¹ ‘Discourse of Warre,’ p. 9.

and finally, that the object which Mr. Wilson assigns to the movements of Essex and Williams, and the imaginary call at the port of Rochelle, is one which Waldegrave states definitely he will not undertake, a resolution from which it is reasonably certain he never departed.

But could Williams in any case have gone to Rochelle in the 'Swiftsure'? We are face to face with his positive assertion that he did not. Who could believe that Williams would criticise Drake's management of the Expedition on the strength of a statement whose falsity would be known to so many people? Drake wasted his opportunity at Coruña, says Williams, but Essex showed superior wisdom in sailing 'streight for Lisburne.' In the next place, what about his fellow-voyagers, the Earl of Essex, Sir Philip Butler, Sir Edward Wingfield, and Walter Devereux, are they willing to go to Rochelle at the caprice of Marprelate-Williams, and thereby to risk their share in the glory of the Expedition and its hoped-for rich rewards? Moreover, how are we to account for the fact that concerning this extraordinary proceeding there never fell a whisper from any of the officers or the men sailing in the 'Swiftsure'? Further, if we compile a log for the good ship, we shall arrive at the same inevitable conclusion, that the call at Rochelle is as impossible as it is improbable. The 'Swiftsure' left Falmouth not earlier than 18th April, and joined the fleet on 13th May—by an obvious slip of the pen, Mr. Wilson gives the latter date as 20th May. According to the 'Ephemeris expeditionis Norreysii et

Draki,' the main fleet left Plymouth in the teeth of a westerly gale, which, I gather, continued for a couple of days, and was succeeded by a gale from the east, so that Drake could not follow the sailing orders and attack the Spanish navy in the easterly ports of Biscay and Guipuscoa. All he could do was to make for Coruña. He anchored off the shore on 23rd April. During the whole period that the fleet was in that port the weather was very stormy. The expedition left for the south on 8th May. Whether under these weather-conditions the 'Swiftsure' could have reached Rochelle or not, I am in doubt. But we have so full a programme of the doings of Essex and Williams before they joined the fleet as to preclude the idea; much more Mr. Wilson's surmise that they may have been delayed at Rochelle 'a week or so.' During this stormy period the 'Swiftsure' sailed as far south as Cadiz, seeking for the main contingent. She then cruised about between that port and Cape St. Vincent, capturing three hulks laden with corn and wine, and three pinnaces. Her speed was now that of the slowest of the laden hulks. Convoying her prizes she sailed northwards. When she reached the Bayona Islands she put into the harbour of Vigo, coming to anchor at Cangas, on the north shore, where Williams and a company of men landed and put to flight the local military guard. Resuming their voyage northwards they fell in with the fleet between the Sisarga Islands and Mugia (Mongiam), a little north of Cape Finisterre. One need not be a professional seaman to realise that the above

programme leaves no time for the supposed visit to Rochelle. It is something of a wonder that an Elizabethan vessel, for the most part in very stormy weather, and hampered by her slow-moving prizes, should have accomplished so much between 18th April and 13th May. The facts of the case clearly compel us to give up Rochelle. And all this time Williams is kicking his heels about, filling up what Mr. Wilson calls 'an idle time' by constructing his 'Theses,' writing his long, learned, and most important tract, 'More Worke for the Cooper,' in odd moments penning his 'Actions in the Low Countries,' also that scientific trifle of seventy-five pages, 'A Briefe Discourse of Warre.' I can only humbly exclaim, Prodigious! Caius Julius Cæsar writing his 'Commentaries' and at the same time directing his campaigns was never such a paragon as this armigerous countryman of mine.

When the expedition returned Sir Roger Williams did not return with it. He wanted employment, and besides the Queen was angry with him. Mr. Wilson supposes there is something mysterious in the Queen's angry letter about Williams. Her anger, naturally, he thinks should have been vented against Essex. But this is the second time that Williams has inveigled away her favourite, and there is nothing astonishing that such a virago as Elizabeth should have directed her royal and feminine wrath not against her handsome young cavalier, but against this Welsh adventurer who had lured him from her side.

The more weighty difficulties which confront

the Williams-Marprelate theory still remain. Mr. Wilson, with his skilled advocacy, makes a brave show out of Williams's slender literary gifts. He could write commendably well for a soldier, and he had a breath of Celtic imagination which gave at intervals a dull gleam to his pages. Mr. Wilson was venturesome enough to proceed by way of example. Let me do the same. Will anyone tell me that the deft English pen which wrote Marprelate's 'Epistle,' 'Epitome,' or 'Hay any Worke,' also wrote the following?

Some thinkes Commissions and authoritie is sufficient to conduct an Armie and that Conquests and Ouerthrowes consist in multitude: let the Commissions be euer so large, the multitude ever so manie; the Warres consists altogether in good Chiefs, and experimented Soldiers, & euer did since the world began to this houre. What caused *Alexander* to ouerthrow *Darius* with few men, considering his number? but his valorous person, with the experience of his Captaines & Souldiers.—('The Discourse of Warre,' p. 4.)

True it is that for mine owne part, I doe esteeme you brave soldiours, and would do more, if you were conducted by Iulian Romero, your late Collonell, Mondragon Sentio Dauille, and the like, who haue been discomfitted and slaine: but I doubt, that *Alexander de Mantes*, and those which now commaund you, do willingly perswade the Gouvernors and Ladies of Paris, that ther is none other conduct in the world but theirs: onlie this I thinke, that what they doe is vppon compulsion. As for mee and my companies we haue obtained leaue of the King to shew that we are resolute to defend and disproue your rumours to be false and forged, if so it please you to repaire to the place appointed.—(A letter to the Citizens of Paris in 'Newes of Sir Roger Williams,' p. 6.)

After reading Mr. Wilson's first article I took an early opportunity of examining 'A Briefe Discourse of Warre.' Nothing but the interest which Mr. Wilson succeeded in weaving around the personality of the old Welsh soldier enabled me to read his unattractive pages. I laid down the book with the full conviction, that whoever wrote the Marprelate Tracts it was not the man who wrote 'A Discourse of Warre.'

Moreover, the main consideration in regard to Mr. Wilson's theory is still to be weighed. The Marprelate Tracts are the work of a religious mind. They embody a distinctly religious plea. But so far I have not come across a scrap of evidence which would indicate that Sir Roger Williams was a specially devout man of any type, least of all a Puritan. There is, as we have seen, some evidence which points in the opposite direction. We must therefore admire Mr. Wilson's courage when he faces the situation with the remark, 'Of Sir Roger Williams' Puritan sympathies there can be no doubt.' What is the evidence alleged? His intimacy with Essex does not turn the scale by a featherweight. His intercourse with Dutch Calvinists at Middelburgh is bare surmise, and I think, even if Williams knew Dutch, quite improbable. His Puritanism cannot have amounted to much, seeing he died of a surfeit. The old chronicler says that the Earl of Essex 'saved his sowle, for none but he cold make hym take a feeling of his end.' Setting aside hypocrites, from whom no type of Christian profession is entirely free, the Puritan as we know

him in history is not always an amiable person, not always sweetly reasonable, is not always gifted with a saving sense of humour; though he has his sterling virtues and has been much maligned. But a gasconading Puritan, ready for a drinking bout, dying of a surfeit, and needing the Earl of Essex's special personal influence to turn his dying thoughts to repentance, does not come within the circuit of my imagination. That such a 'Puritan' wrote the Marprelate Tracts, is to me inconceivable.

Mr. Wilson has endeavoured to carry home the attack by representing Marprelate as a very latitudinarian kind of Puritan. But he only succeeds in establishing his case by destroying the humour of the sentences he cites. For this reason his reference to the Bishop of Chester's card-playing seems quite wide of the mark. Martin has had great fun out of Bishop Aylmer's defence of playing bowls on Sunday. 'Man,' said the Bishop, 'may haue his meat dressed for his health vpon the Sabboth, and why may he not then haue some conuenient exercise for the body?' This will make more clear Marprelate's irony when he says, 'For in winter it is no matter to take a little sport; for an odd cast, braces of twenty nobles, when the weather is foul [so] that men cannot go abroad to bowls, or to shoot. What would you have men take no recreation?' It is in the same mood that he continues his warning against the danger, in the excitement of the game, of imitating Aylmer's habit of swearing when at bowls. Aylmer defended himself by saying that it meant no more than if he had said, 'in very

truth, bona fide, in trueth, assuredly, id est, Amen.' (This appears in Bishop Thomas Cooper's 'Admonition.') Martin says, 'For you cannot use them but you must needs say your brother T. C.'s "Amen," that is, swear "By your faith" many a time in the night. Well, I will never stand arguing the matter any more with you. If you will leave your cardplaying, so it is; if you will not, trust to it, it will be the worse for you.' I do not think there is any ground for doubting that Martin held the ordinary Puritan aversion from bowling on Sunday and from playing cards, whether for small stakes or large. Equally mistaken I must think Mr. Wilson in supposing Marprelate to be in any doubt about the authorship of Bishop Thomas Cooper's 'Admonition,' which was simply signed 'T. C.' The more celebrated 'Admonitions' of Cartwright bore the same initials, and simple people, not so completely informed as Marprelate on such matters, were misled by the similarity of titles and initials. But Marprelate entitled his reply, 'Hay any worke for Cooper.' He was never for a moment misled. He simply takes the bishop in his humour, and fools with him about Thomas Cartwright and Thomas Cook, an insignificant person who was one of the bishop's chaplains. All of the fun of the situation, such as it is, turns on the mischievous pretence of this knowing blade, that he has been deceived by the simple bishop's device. We cannot commend Mr. Wilson for seeking to establish his hypothesis by misconstruing Martin's jests into dull and vapid seriousness.

If anything more were wanted to discredit the Williams-Marprelate theory we have it in the fact that the 'Briefe Discourse of Warre' was published by Thomas Orwine. He is the printer who was fiercely assailed by Marprelate, because Whitgift illegally favoured him, and he a printer of Popish devotional books.

With the disappearance of Sir Roger Williams as a possible author, it is hardly necessary to pursue farther Mr. Wilson's critical examination of the Tracts themselves in support of his theory. The references to the Groyne, to sea journeys and damaged manuscripts, are all capable of easy and perfectly natural explanation. 'Mar-Martin' has just been published with an account of Martin's death. This doggerel had a brisk sale at the booksellers in the month of June. The expedition to Portugal had just come to an inglorious end, and multitudes of English families were mourning the death of a relative at the Groyne and in the suburbs of Lisbon. Martin Junior calls the speculations about Marprelate's death at home and abroad, 'flim-flam stories,' and Martin Senior advises the use of the expedition as an evasion. Then, in regard to the pleasantries about sea voyages and the 'rain-and-weather-beaten papers,' we have no need of any far-fetched explanation.¹ The first

¹ This banter was suggested to Penry by the Welsh Catholic tract mentioned by him in his 'Exhortation,' p. 101 and margin, 'Y Drych Gristianogawl' ('The Christian Mirror'). This was written by Dr. Griffith Roberts, a canon of Milan Cathedral and chaplain to Cardinal Borromeo. It was printed at Rouen by another Welsh priest, Dr. Roger Smith, who, in his brief preface, writes of the vicissitudes of the manuscript in journeying from

part of the 'Theses Martinianæ' were found by Penry and Hodgkins under a bush as they left Haseley in the morning. They had been lying in the rain (probably over-night). It is in the second half of the Tract, which was apparently brought by Throkmorton to the printers later in the week, that reference is made to their damp condition. The printer of Roger Williams's 'Actions' makes no complaint of this kind. His grievance is the bad handwriting of his copy.

The remaining points in Mr. Wilson's I am compelled, by considerations of space, to pass over, though some of them are too important to be forgotten. I may simply say that I do not feel convinced that the 'Protestatyon' is the joint production of Penry and Throkmorton. The theory that Penry exactly finished a statement at the bottom of page 14 agreeable with his own married condition (he had only one child, however), and Throkmorton taking up the pen, continued the statement, in agreement with his prospects of matrimony, so as to deceive the reader that it is the uniform truth concerning Marprelate, is far and away too tricky to be credible. I have elsewhere stated that the printer that came to the aid of the confederates and completed the 'Protestatyon,' judged by the inferior quality of his work, could not have been Waldegrave, who was

Italy as follows: [Translation] 'Immediately the book landed, coming into Welsh hands naked and disordered, wet with voyaging and brine, it received (as I heard) a new covering and was dried and cared for, very willingly and indeed eagerly.' Sig. C iv. I quote from the complete copy of this rare tract in the National Library, Aberystwyth.

a first-rate craftsman. Passing by the many interesting points raised in Mr. Wilson's articles, I will only remind him that he has not explained why, having the copy of the long promised 'More Worke for the Cooper' in hand, instead of fulfilling their definite promise to the printers and to the public, by printing it, Throkmorton and Penry gratuitously saddle themselves with the work of producing the two intermediary tracts, 'Theses' and 'The Just Censure,' and delay the chief work. That the writer of the second half of the 'Protestation' wrote a prefatory chapter to 'More Worke,' rests upon a mistaken interpretation of the word 'pistle' at the close of the former Tract, where it really means the complete work, as I could show by a number of similar passages in the Marprelate writings. But I must here conclude. The Marprelate problem is slowly moving onwards, though the identity of the writer still eludes us. However, I do not despair of Mr. Dover Wilson unearthing him at last, if he will continue to devote his brilliant powers to the task.

WILLIAM PIERCE.

II.

To say that Mr. Dover Wilson's two articles entitled 'Martin Marprelate and Shakespeare's Fluellen,' in the April and July numbers of 'THE LIBRARY,' are among the most important contributions to the history of the great controversy that have yet appeared, will not, I hope, be taken as implying agreement with everything that they contain, or even necessarily with their main thesis

—the identification of Martin with Sir Roger Williams. What differentiates these articles from so much that has been written on the subject is the novelty of their point of view: not only in minor details does Mr. Dover Wilson frequently suggest new and more probable interpretations of the known facts, but the controversy as a whole is regarded not as a mere quarrel among theologians, but as a political movement involving some of the most important men of the time. To identify the author of the Marprelate Tracts can be of no great importance or interest to-day, if it be but a question between one forgotten name and another; but to connect them with famous and interesting personalities, to suggest the part that they may have played in that most intricate tangle of enmities and interests which made up the court of Elizabeth—in short, to place them in their true perspective in the tableau of the Elizabethan age, is another and a very different achievement. And whether Mr. Dover Wilson succeeds in convincing us or not, we cannot help feeling that, thanks to him, the controversy has assumed a new reality and a living interest of which we had hardly suspected it to be capable. If I suggest that the train of argument is not yet at all points complete—that, in this direction and in that, further investigation is required—it is because it seems to me that such further investigation may easily turn what is at present an ingenious and fascinating theory into established history. The clues to be followed up are many, and they are certainly well worth following.

So far as the identification of Martin Marprelate is concerned, Mr. Dover Wilson's argument has two main divisions. In the first place, he would prove from internal evidence to be found in the tracts, and from the circumstances of their publication, that the original Martin, author of the 'Epistle,' the 'Epitome,' and 'Hay any work for Cooper,' was an officer of importance employed in the Portugal Expedition of 1589 (18th April to 1st July); in the second place, that he was the well-known Welsh soldier Sir Roger Williams, who served in that expedition in company with Essex. Let us consider these points separately.

First, it must be conceded that the dates of publication of the various tracts fit in extraordinarily well with the theory that their author was one of those who took part in the voyage to Portugal. This would perfectly explain the curious idleness of the Marprelate press during April, May, and June, 1589, and its suddenly renewed activity in July. How much more besides this it would explain, depends on how much of what is said in the tracts of 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior' we are to take as literal truth. And here, I think, we must go very carefully.

The tract of Martin Junior, issued about 22nd July, consists of certain rather fragmentary 'theses,' supposed to be the work of the original Martin Marprelate, with a prologue and epilogue by his 'son,' in which explanations are given as to the origin of the theses and how they came to be in such a mutilated condition. Now the trouble is that the explanation given is such a very obvious

one. At the time when it was penned everyone must have been talking of the return of the Portugal Expedition. If for any reason the Martinist printers had received their copy in a fragmentary state and were unable to get it completed, what jesting excuse for its imperfections would they have been more likely to offer than that it had been sent home with the expedition and had suffered from the voyage? If this was the actual truth, they were giving away to the authorities far more gratuitous information than we should expect from such clever conspirators. I do not say that they might not have done this on purpose, for a certain ostentatious boldness was part of their policy throughout, it being evidently intended to strengthen the idea that they had powerful backers, and perhaps, in this instance, especially to hint at Essex as the head of the movement; but when Martin Junior has just told us such a cock-and-bull tale as that about his having picked up the manuscript of the Theses beside a bush, 'where it had dropped from somebody passing by that way,' we may reasonably hesitate to take quite literally what else he says about the origin of the papers.

But even if we allow that Martin had probably been absent with the Portugal Expedition—and for my own part I think it is fairly clear that there was some connection between the expedition and the Martinists, though what is uncertain¹—we are

¹ It must be remembered that it would in any case have been prudent for the Martinists to keep quiet at a time when Essex, their most powerful favourer, was absent from England.

still a long way from proving the identity of Martin with Williams. In order to do this, we shall, I think, have to find out more about Williams than we know at present; we shall even have to find out that there was a totally different side to his character from that which seems to have been apparent to his contemporaries. All are agreed that he was a valiant and accomplished soldier. That he was a wit is equally certain: the repartee which Mr. Dover Wilson has quoted would alone prove this, and there is abundant evidence besides. But what is there to show that he was a Puritan, and one, moreover, who was not merely in general sympathy with the movement, but was fully conversant with the Puritan arguments and literature? Surely neither his intimacy with Essex, leader indeed of the Puritan party by succession, but at this time a gay courtier not yet twenty-three years of age, nor his hatred of Spain—Nashe and many another hated Spain—nor his service in the Netherlands, where all soldiers of fortune served, tells us much as to his real convictions. So far as I can learn, there is nothing whatever in contemporary references to him that suggests any Puritan leanings—rather, indeed, the contrary. In the eulogy of Williams, by John Davies of Hereford, from which Mr. Dover Wilson quotes extracts, we read that he was a great ridiculer of carpet knights ‘whose glory lay all in their Ladies’ lappe,’ but Davies concedes that his hero himself ‘yet could, like Mars, take there sometimes a napp.’ I would not, indeed, suggest that there is any inherent inconsistency between an over-fondness for fair ladies

and a dislike of bishops, and we must remember that though a large number of the Puritans were beginning to be characterized by excessive rigidity of life and manners, and what a certain Elizabethan indexer has called 'a superfluous plurality of virtues,' the movement undoubtedly attracted a number of less sombre spirits on its intellectual side, as any movement of revolt is bound to do. We need not assume that it was only a dignitary of the Established Church who could find occasion to thank God, as Whitgift did, that he could 'be merry with the bagpipe,' and apparently the long sky-coloured cloak with a collar edged with gold and silver and silk lace, in which Penry 'went disguised,' was not so efficient a disguise after all.

We must not then expect to find Martin necessarily a black-gowned and melancholy recluse; but something we may fairly expect, some evidence at least of strong religious convictions, of an interest in the theological controversies of his time—and is this to be found in Williams? Of his end, in 1595, we read that he 'died of a surfett in B[aynards] Castell. . . . He gave all he had to my Lord of Essex, who, indeed, saved his sowle, for none but he cold make hym take a feeling of his end, but he died well and very repentant' (A. Collins, 'Letters and Memorials,' i. 377). This, somehow, does not sound like a description of the death of a great religious reformer.

Two or three other considerations, however, point to the identity of Williams and Martin. There are distinct indications in the tracts, as

Mr. Wilson shows, that their author was a Welshman. I think we may accept this as probably the case, though many dialect forms used by him, such as 'vather' for 'father,' were widely distributed in southern English.¹ But there were other Welshmen connected with the household of Essex, and Penry himself was one, so this alone will not take us far.

Then we have the fact of the Queen's anger against Williams. That she was exceedingly angry there is no doubt—but then she often was. Essex's flight, whatever its precise reason, was, of course, an open defiance of her authority; and if, as seems likely, Williams had to do with bringing it about, it was to be expected that her anger would fall heavily on the older man, whom she may have regarded as having led her favourite astray.

In some ways the strongest evidence for Williams and Martin being identical seems to me the remarkable similarity which Mr. Wilson shows to exist in the style of their writings. It is unfortunately, however, a style which in itself is not very distinctive—it is that of the plain man speaking plainly. To the soldier Williams the abrupt disconnected sentences, innocent of literary embroidery, and almost of logical connection, are appropriate; but they are no less appropriate to Martin, who tells us that he is 'plaine,' and 'must needs call a Spade a Spade, a Pope a Pope,' and who wishes to

¹ See E. Eckhardt, 'Die Dialekt- und Ausländertypen des älteren Englischen Dramas,' 1910. (Bang's 'Materialien.') A study of Martin's dialect in the light of Eckhardt's investigations might give interesting results.

be understood by the least learned of his countrymen. But be this as it may, few will, I think, read the passages which Mr. Wilson cites without feeling that here is evidence which cannot be lightly set aside.

Against Williams there are a couple of small points, neither perhaps of much importance by itself, but worth notice when all is so uncertain. One is the existence in the Marprelate 'Epistle' (ed. Arber, p. 23) of a violent attack on the printer Thomas Orwin, as one 'who sometimes wrought popish books in corners: namely Iesus Psalter, our Ladies Psalter, &c.' Now if Williams wrote this, it is at least curious that it should have been precisely this same Thomas Orwin who, a couple of years later, printed, and apparently published, Williams's 'Brief Discourse of War.' Or shall we suppose that Orwin got hold of it without the author's consent, and was merely taking what Nashe would have called 'a new lesson out of Plutarch in making benefit of his enemy'?

The other point is that Nashe, who was certainly one of the anti-Martinist group of writers, though his precise share in the controversy cannot be ascertained, goes out of his way on one occasion to eulogise Williams ('Have with you to Saffron-Walden,' 1596, sig. R 1), a thing we can hardly imagine him doing if there had been any suspicion of Williams's connection with Martin.

I am able to throw a little fresh light on the movements of Williams after the return of the expedition in 1589, which does not indeed help us

with regard to the question of Martin, but which is of interest in connection with his temporary disappearance from publicity. Mr. Wilson was unable to find any evidence that he returned to England with the fleet on 1st July, and supposes that he had taken service at once with Navarre. But it appears certain that he did return to England, though after his arrival he remained for a time in hiding. When the fleet reached England there was the usual trouble about prize-money. Those who had taken part in the expedition—in many cases at their own cost—naturally wanted to make what profit they could out of the ships captured, while Elizabeth naturally wanted as much of the spoil as possible for herself. In this case there seems also to have been an additional complication caused by the fact that certain of the ships which had been seized were Danish, although England was at peace with that country. Much will be found about the matter in the Acts of the Privy Council and elsewhere, but we need only concern ourselves with one letter written by the Council on 11th July to Norris and Drake, directing them to see that certain ships belonging to the King of Denmark, which, according to information received, had been brought to Dartmouth and given to Sir Roger Williams and to Captain Huntley, were not sold or disposed of.

It is thus evident that Williams was at Dartmouth, or had been there at the beginning of the month, and there exists a letter from him on the subject sufficiently interesting to be given in full. It is directed to the Treasurer, Admiral and Secre-

tary Walsingham, and runs as follows ('Harl. MS.' 6845, no. 20, fol. 100)¹ :—

Most Honourable. Most humbly I do crave y^r favor & justice. Altho it pleasing my Sacred Sovereigne to be offended wth me, I trust it is wel known unto y^r Honors, y^t I am an honest poor Gentleman. Coming from *Spain* I placed in one of y^e Easterlings Vessels my lieutenant wth a number of Gentlemen & Soldiers. The Vessel had never been carried into *England* wthout my means. It is wel known we had aboue two hundred Sayles of al Sorts : of y^e w^{ch} we could not carry wth us aboue three score for want of men. I protest on y^e faith of a Christian, this journey cost me above a thousand pound. I know not w^t to do, unles y^r Lpp. wil help me, to recover some part. The Earl of *Bath* discharged my men from y^e Vessel at *Dartmouth*. I have nothing. I presumed myself y^e Earl of *Essex*, wth al y^e rest, y^t were in this action, wil testify I deserve a Chain, as wel as my fellowes. But for her Majesties displeasure [nether to]² y^m wrong in this sort. Where Sr *Walter Raleigh* speakes of my hulk, I cannot stop his mouth to bely mine : for he belyd y^e *Ark of Noe*, w^{ch} was y^e best ship, y^t ever was. Humbly desiring y^r Lpps. favor, I pray heartily to God to preserve y^r Honors healthes. I dare not shew y^r HH. where I am the xxiiii of July.

Y^r honors most bounded to serve

Ro. WILLIAMS.

I am sorry that I cannot explain the allusion to Sir W. Raleigh, but it is evident from the Acts of

¹ This is a copy, dating apparently from about 1700, perhaps by Strype. I have been unable to trace the original.

² After the word 'displeasure' there is a space of about an inch, followed by something which has been altered, by another hand, into the words here given within square brackets. The transcriber evidently found Williams's hand difficult to read.

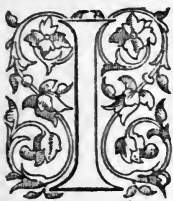
the Privy Council of 21st July that he had been trying to deal in some of the ships himself, so there may well have been a quarrel between the two men.

There is a later letter from Williams in 'Harl. MS.' 6995, no. 30, dated at London on 2nd May, 1590, asking for a passport to go abroad, but this gives us no fresh information beyond telling us that the Queen's anger against Williams was not yet appeased. The writer thinks, however, that she might well forgive him 'offending no more than I did.' If only he had said in what his offence consisted!

To sum up, I think we may say that the identity of Williams and Martin Marprelate must remain for the present a most interesting suggestion, and that more investigation is needed before the question can be decided one way or the other. In the meantime, however, it cannot be denied that Mr. Wilson's articles, both by their general treatment of the subject and by the number of fresh clues that he has pointed out, have brought us very considerably nearer to the truth.

R. B. MCKERROW.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

N the new volume of 'Les grandes écrivains français,' René Doumic deals with Lamartine. The biographical portion of the book calls for no special remark. It is a piece of lucid narrative, in which we see Lamartine as the poet, the diplomatist, and the politician, and as the country gentleman, who was ruined by his mania for agricultural speculation, in which were combined his 'amour de la terre,' his gambling instincts, and his incurable optimism.

The chief interest of the book lies in the critical portion. 'Le Lac' is, according to Doumic, one of the masterpieces of literature of all times, one of the rarest pearls in the poetry of the world. We may not all agree with that estimate, but we must admit that Doumic's masterly analysis of the poem brings out its beauty in a remarkable way. In 'Le Lac' he writes, 'se trouve réalisé le type même d'une poésie immatérielle, imprécise comme le rêve, et harmonieuse comme la musique.' 'Jocelyn' is characterized as 'un fragment d'épopée intime.' Doumic puts it among the epics—declaring it to be the only epic in the French language—because an epic 'vit de l'expression des sentiments simples et de la peinture des réalités quotidiennes,' and because

it is only an optimist who can write an epic poem. Of the magnificent episode of 'Les Laboureurs' in the ninth canto, he says—

'Nulle part, dans aucune littérature, on ne trouvera une image du travail des champs tracée avec plus de vigueur et plus d'heureux réalisme, faite de détails plus simples, plus vrais, et où les gestes du paysan, si augustes dans leur simplicité millénaire, soient reproduits avec plus de fidélités.'

It would seem that with the French the poetry of earth is never dead. In life and in literature they recognise that there is something august in the tiller of the soil. Perhaps nowhere is the feeling more finely expressed than in Victor Hugo's short lyric, 'Saison de Semailles. Le Soir.' René Bazin, in his novels, 'La terre qui meurt,' 'Donatienne,' and 'Le blé qui lève,' treats the subject from another point of view; indeed, his strong love for the cultivation of the ground and all that it entails is scarcely ever absent from modern French literature. I remember reading an excellent story, by a quite unknown author, in which the hero, a small land-owner, was a grower of vines, and the vines played as large a part in the tale as the chief personages.

'La chute d'un ange' is philosophical poetry—'un système de philosophie en vers où le Christianisme apparaît déformé par les idées du XVIII^e siècle. Et les vers sont magnifiques.' In 'Les Confidences,' Lamartine narrated the story of his youth, as it seemed to him when time, which always simplifies and purifies, had done its work. We quite naturally, in age, see ourselves in youth as we would

wish to be, and thus Lamartine has idealized everything. Lamartine is a poet before all, and therefore, as an orator, a journalist, or historian, he invariably applies the lyrism of the poet to any subject he is treating.

Lamartine's influence on his successors is considerable. All the poets of the nineteenth century had 'la poésie lamartinienne dans les moelles.' Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny, Alfred de Musset, Auguste Barbier, Victor de Laprade, Sully-Prudhomme, all owe much to Lamartine.

Doumic sums up Lamartine's genius in the following eloquent passages—

'Ce qui caractérise Lamartine plus qu'aucun autre de ses contemporains, c'est, chez l'homme, une richesse de dons inépuisable, et c'est, chez l'écrivain, une extraordinaire puissance de renouvellement. Ses premiers vers sont un écho de la poésie galante du XVIII^e siècle, et nous reportent au temps des Bernis et des Bertin, de Dorat-Cubières et de Parny. Bientôt, dégagé de cette première manière, le poète, réalisant l'œuvre vers laquelle tendait chez nous le travail de la sensibilité et de l'imagination depuis de si longues années, devient le chantre des grandes émotions de l'âme devant l'amour et la mort, devant la nature et devant Dieu. Grâce à lui, ce mouvement, qui pouvait se dissiper, et s'évanouir sans avoir donné aucune œuvre durable et sans s'être inscrit dans l'histoire de la littérature, se concrète dans une forme immortelle. Maître de l'élégie, le poète échappe à son atmosphère de tristesse, pour célébrer l'amour triomphant et dire la plénitude du bonheur.'

Gardens play so large a part in our lives now—we are all of us gardeners, or would-be gardeners

—that an eighteenth century ‘*théorie des jardins*’ should be of interest to many. It is to be found in a book entitled ‘*Le Marquis René de Girardin (1735-1808) d’après des documents inédits.*’ The author of the work is André Martin-Decaen, and André Hallays contributes a preface.

René de Girardin, who was the last friend of Rousseau, brought up his children according to ‘*Emile*,’ laid out the gardens of his estate, Ermenonville, according to the ‘*Nouvelle Héloïse*,’ and conceived the sovereignty of the people according to the ‘*Contrat Social*.’ He gave his master hospitality in his last days—Rousseau went to Ermenonville in 1778—and erected a tomb for him. The marquis never ceased to believe in Rousseau, not even when his sons were arrested, his daughter imprisoned, and he and his wife confined under lock and key to his château of Ermenonville. The ‘*patriots*’ devastated his gardens and buildings, and the nation reclaimed Rousseau’s remains for the Panthéon. The book contains some interesting details on the last days of Rousseau, and probably the most complete narrative of his death that has ever appeared. A few new details about the old age of Thérèse are also given. De Girardin’s theory of gardens is entitled—

‘*De la composition des paysages sur le terrain ou des moyens d’embellir la nature autour des habitations en y joignant l’agréable à l’utile, suivie de réflexions sur les avantages de la contiguïté des possessions rurales, et d’une distribution plus générale en petites cultures, pour faciliter la subsistance du peuple et prévenir les effets funestes du monopole.*’

The irregular English garden was becoming the fashion in France as a reaction from the regular classic gardens of Lenôtre, like those of the Tuileries. The book contains concise and clear rules for 'l'art paysager,' rather in the style of Poussin and Claude. Girardin's taste for landscape gardening was catholic, and took delight in those wilder aspects of nature that were only just beginning to show itself in art and literature. There was in the Ermenonville garden a part known as the 'désert.' In a beautiful garden near Paris which I am privileged to visit, there is a portion called 'the Vosges,' with conifera of various kinds and delightful woodland paths ascending and descending. It produces an excellent illusion of the lower slopes of mountains.

Girardin's social and economic theories are seen throughout his actions and his writings. In his theory of gardens even, 'l'utile' must not be wholly sacrificed to 'l'agréable.' He believed in the better cultivation of the land, and curiously enough insists on the superiority of English agriculture, advocated a system of small holdings, and was against large farms. He sympathised with the people, and found 'la souffrance de ses semblables, spectacle le plus douloureux,' and recognised 'la nécessité que tout ce qui respire soit nourri.' Martin-Decaen declares him to be 'le plus remarquable idéologue du XVIII^e siècle; . . . l'homme d'un rêve irréalisé, et sans doute irréalisable, le rêve de la parfaite justice politique.' He actually erected a Temple of Modern Philosophy in his garden, each of the pillars of which was inscribed with the name of a famous philosopher—such as Descartes, Voltaire,

William Penn, Montesquieu, Rousseau, the whole being dedicated to Montaigne. It was said that it was easier to obtain a 'fauteuil à l'Académie' than a pillar at Ermenonville.

In 'Les dieux ont soif,' Anatole France makes the French Revolution the setting for his customary delicate satire on general politics. He gives us the usual types—Maurice Brotteaux, who professes 'indifferentisme,' makes marionettes for a living and reads Lucretius for recreation; Evariste Gamelin, a painter, who becomes a member of the Council, and responsible for wholesale murder, believing always that he is thereby a real saviour of humanity. Gamelin's mother is an admirable foil to her son, and the type of the French bourgeoisie that ever prevails. Blaise, a print-seller, an atheist, shows kindness to a priest, and thus excuses his act—

'Ne vous donnez point de souci et ne m'ayez nulle reconnaissance. Ce que je fais en ce moment et dont vous exagérez le mérite, je ne le fais pas pour l'amour de vous : car, enfin, bien que vous soyez aimable, mon Père, je vous connais trop peu pour vous aimer. Je ne le fais pas non plus pour l'amour de l'humanité : car je ne suis pas aussi simple que Don Juan pour croire, comme lui, que l'humanité a ses droits : et ce préjugé, dans un esprit aussi libre que le sien, m'afflige. Je le fais par cet égoïsme qui inspire à l'homme tous les actes de générosité et de dévouement, en le faisant se reconnaître dans tous les misérables, en le disposant à plaindre sa propre infortune dans l'infortune d'autrui et en l'excitant à porter aide à un mortel semblable à lui par la nature et la destinée, jusque-là qu'il croit se secourir lui-même en le secourant. Je le fais encore par désœuvrement : car

la vie est à ce point insipide qu'il faut s'en distraire à tout prix, et que la bienfaisance est un divertissement assez fade qu'on se donne à défaut d'autres plus savoureux; je le fais par orgueil et pour prendre avantage sur vous: je le fais, enfin, par esprit de système et pour vous montrer de quoi un athée est capable.'

The book contains little that may be called story, but the French Revolution has an eternal fascination, and Anatole France's beautiful style and delicate satire always give pleasure.

Emile Faguet publishes two books dealing with Rousseau. 'La Vie de Rousseau' is a biography in which Rousseau, the man, is carefully analysed. Faguet finds Rousseau a little character, 'dépaycé dans un grand génie,' and declares that Rousseau's epigram on Voltaire, 'ses premiers mouvements sont bons; mais la réflexion le rend méchant,' is equally true of Rousseau himself. Rousseau was born for affection, for love, even for virtue, if he had been a little aided and had known exactly what it was. But he was always betrayed by love. He passed from 'amitié en amitié et n'en goûtant aucune, très aimé et désespérant ceux qui l'aimaient, ami de la vertu et très loin d'être vertueux, précepteur de sagesse, et le plus fou des hommes, capables de voir où est le bonheur et d'indiquer aux autres où il est, et l'un des plus malheureux mortels qui aient cherché en gémissant.'

The other volume, entitled 'Les amies de Rousseau,' is really an appendix to the biography, since women played too large a part in Rousseau's life to admit of full justice being done to their influence in a brief chapter. It was through

women that Rousseau obtained his literary and even his philosophical success. Yet Faguet considers Rousseau to have been anti-feminist, and to have proved it in his 'Sophie.' But as no one read 'Sophie,' it did not obscure the effect of the 'Nouvelle Héloïse.' Rousseau

'resta le glorificateur de la femme. Les femmes du XVIII^e siècle lui en furent reconnaissantes. Celles du siècle suivant aussi ; et un anti-féministe radical est resté le père du féminisme. Ces choses-là arrivent quand, chez un auteur, l'imagination est en contradiction avec le doctrine ; c'est en vain que la doctrine donne des démentis à l'imagination.'

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The following recently published books deserve attention :—

La France et le Saint Empire Romain Germanique depuis la paix de Westphalie jusqu'à la Révolution Française. Par Bertrand Auerbach.

A volume in the 'Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études. Sciences historiques et philologiques.' An interesting account of the relations of France and Germany during those years. Auerbach concludes by declaring that France contributed to 'la conservation de l'idée fédérale qui est proprement allemande, et qui n'a pu être jusqu'à nos jours ni oblitérée par l'hégémonie prussienne ni absorbé dans l'unité du nouvel Empire.'

Rome et la renaissance de l'antiquité à la fin du XVIII^e siècle. Par L. Hauteœur.

A volume of the 'Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.' An essay on the Roman influence, and not a complete history of 'l'art antiquisant,' at the end of the eighteenth century. Yet the book is historical, and in no way art criticism. The author believes that the love of the antique contributed to prepare the way for Napoleon.

Pages de critique et de doctrine. Par Paul Bourget. 2 vols.

Essays reprinted from various newspapers and magazines, prefaces contributed to books, addresses given at the Academy, and similar compositions. They mostly form pegs on which Bourget hangs his own literary, psychological, religious, and philosophical opinions.

Une philosophie nouvelle. Henri Bergson. Par Edouard Le Roy.

The following are new volumes in the Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine:—

Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse.

Le système totémique en Australie. Par Emile Durkheim.

La philosophie affective. Par J. Bourdeau.

Le rapport social: essai sur l'objet et la methode de la sociologie. Par Eugène Dupréel.

L'honneur, sentiment, et principe moral. Par Eugène Terrailon.

Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte. Sigfrid. Von Dr. Friedrich Panzer.

A very full study of the legend, suited only for students.

Geschichte des deutschen Idealismus. Band II. Die Blütezeit des deutschen Idealismus. Von Kant bis Goethe und Hegel. Von Dr. M. Kronenberg.

A third volume is to follow, bringing the history down to our own time.

Lessing in England, 1767-1850. Von Wilhelm Todt.

A useful piece of research in comparative literature. The author finds that Coleridge was the only English writer who felt

Lessing's influence. The English scarcely relished such a play as 'Nathan der Weise,' for they liked to keep preaching to the church, and desired to be only pleasantly amused at the theatre.

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Among lately published novels may be mentioned:—

L'Amour en danger. Par René Maizeroy.

Madeleine Jeune Femme. Par René Boylesve.

Le Moulin sur la Sonfroide. Par Marguerite Regnaud.

The book was crowned by the French Academy, and gained the Prix Montyon.

Pour une autre. Par Marianne Damad.

With a Preface by Jules Lemaitre. The author is an Armenian, born at Constantinople, where she spent her early days; but she claims to write solely under French influences. Lemaitre says her tales have 'une style uniè, fluide, de peu de couleur,' in fact, 'gris perle.' But under the 'gris perle vit une âme fine et fière, tendre et courageuse, passionnée mais contenue.'

Jean Guilbert. Scènes de Rouerge. Par Gaston Mercier.

Henry Bordeaux furnishes a Preface, and although he does not agree with Mercier that the influence of the Catholic Church is a thing of the past, he enjoys 'tout ce qu'il y a de sain, de noble et de bien observé dans le drame rustique dont le héros est Jean Guilbert.'

La Torture. Par Maxime Formont.


Fraîcheur. Par Gyp.

Masken und Wunder. Von A. Schnitzler.

Six tales of modern Vienna, of which 'Die Hirtenflöte' and 'Der Mörder' are the best.

ELIZABETH LEE.

ON THE STUDY OF ICELANDIC.

LD Icelandic has become of late years a recognised subject of study in the Universities of our country. True, there is a lack of suitable teachers of the subject, but this is not an insuperable hindrance where grammar, dictionary, and good texts are to be found. The cause lies elsewhere. To reward excellence in classics, mathematics, history and natural science, there are scholarships and fellowships. Theology opens the road to deaneries and bishoprics. Students of our Universities, therefore, may well be forgiven if they are attracted by subjects that lead to position and honour, and are shy of those that bring no dowry with them, in return for midnight study and painful self-denial, save the gratification of an enthusiastic love of knowledge. If I could show that the study of Icelandic is a paying study financially, I should not need to utter for it either plea or apology. But now is my paper both a plea and an apology. I plead with the student of our own language that he cannot afford to neglect a sister language which has much influenced it. I apologise to the lover of literature by telling him of the intellectual treat that Icelandic will afford him. To the student of English I hope to show,

though of necessity in a cursory manner, how his mother-tongue is indebted to the Icelandic. To the lover of literature I shall offer a slight sketch of what the Icelanders wrote seven centuries ago, though I can only touch on some of the qualities that charm the reader. It reflects, perhaps, only a low condition of civilization and of the earliest mechanical arts, but it abounds in types of character most interesting and suggestive, and it affords a picture of the early life of our Teutonic forefathers not to be found elsewhere.

The old Icelandic is an important member of an important group. In the regions of Northern and Central Europe there existed during the early Middle Ages six or seven main forms of spoken Germanic language, of which literary remains have descended to our time. Those languages philologists have divided into two groups, the East Germanic and the West Germanic. Gothic and Icelandic form the East Germanic group; Anglo-Saxon, Old Saxon, and Old High German are the main languages of the West Germanic group. Of the marks of separation between the two groups, the simplest is the presence of an inflexional ending to the nominative case. This is found in Icelandic and Gothic, whereas it had disappeared from Anglo-Saxon and Old High German before they were used for literary purposes. Anglo-Saxon has naturally predominant claims on an Englishman. Of the others, Gothic is perhaps the most interesting, for the translation of the Gospels into that language is centuries older than any literature of the other Germanic languages; and Gothic, therefore, may

very conveniently be taken as a philological centre from which to measure and compare the changes shown by the others. Why, therefore, you will ask, do you recommend the student, if he must make a choice, to take Icelandic rather than Gothic, or rather than Old High German and Old Saxon, which have a closer affinity with Anglo-Saxon? Because, it may be answered, the Icelandic had much greater modifying influence on Anglo-Saxon, and assisted more greatly in forming our English of to-day than any other language of the Germanic groups. The student of English is accustomed to attach much importance to the French of our Norman conquerors, and to the learned Latin of the revival of literature, for they were main factors in forming the flexible language which we all proudly speak and write to-day. But none the less surely did the Icelandic of the Danish invaders and settlers in this country, during the two centuries before the Norman Conquest and afterwards, modify and strengthen the Anglo-Saxon of King Alfred. I have called the language spoken by Kings Sweyn and Knut Icelandic; possibly you may ask if this is not a misnomer needing explanation. The Danish empire of old times stretched over all the countries bordering on the Skager Rack; and the oldest name of the language spoken throughout this empire was 'the Danish tongue,' *Hin Danska Tunga*. This was the language which the Norse Colonisers of Iceland carried with them at the end of the ninth century, and Iceland was the country where it blossomed into literary form in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. After the rule

of Denmark over Scandinavia was weakened, and Iceland submitted to Norway, Icelandic writers of the thirteenth century called this language 'the Norse tongue,' *Hin Norræna Tunga*. Through the remoteness of Iceland from European disturbances this language has undergone much less change in Iceland than elsewhere—so little change, in fact, that an educated Icelander of to-day can readily understand the ancient writings of his native land. Not so in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. There the old Danish tongue has undergone great changes, and the modern languages there spoken bear to the old much the same relation that Italian, Spanish and French bear to the Latin *Sermo Popularis*. So when in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the rich old buried literature of Iceland was disinterred, the Danish scholars who brought it to light entitled it Icelandic, which is a perfect designation of the old literature, though a restricted name for the old language. It will thus be understood how the language spoken by the followers of Ragnar Lodbrok and of King Knut has come to be called Icelandic.

The Icelandic, then, spoken by the Danish invaders of this country, being closely allied to the Anglo-Saxon, it is probable that the English and Danes understood each other with no more difficulty than a Yorkshireman and Wiltshireman of to-day find in comprehending one another. This comparison may be pressed more closely than appears at first sight, because the Yorkshireman of to-day is as much a descendant of the invading Dane as the Wiltshireman is of the Saxon of Wessex.

The present dialects of Yorkshire and Wiltshire possess probably the same proportion of words common to both as the Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon did of old. Measured, therefore, by the actual introduction of new words into the English language, the Icelandic contributions seem, perhaps, small, beside the additions which Norman-French brought, as seen in the pages of Chaucer. Many, too, of introduced Icelandic words are only dialect and local words, not yet adopted into the language of literature. They enter largely into the common speech of Northern and Eastern England; and Lowland Scotch contains a rich infusion of them, as may be seen in the pages of Jamieson's Dictionary. Some of you must have noticed the prevalence in country districts of Lancashire and elsewhere of an auxiliary verb 'mun,' to mark future time: 'I mun go.' Also the common use of 'es' and 'as' for who or which (a use found on a Runic stone in the Isle of Man), together with such words as 'welly,' 'gradely,' 'yah,' 'nei,' 'skrike,' 'owd,' 'scrat.' These are all pure Icelandic. In the Lowland Scotch, 'it gars me greet'—'it makes me weep'—both words are Icelandic, though 'greet' is also Anglo-Saxon. When Antiquary Oldbuck discoursed upon his great discovery of the Prætorium of Julius Agricola, and Edie Ochiltree broke in with 'I mind the bigging o't,' the old mendicant spoke Icelandic. But literary English is not without a good sprinkling of Icelandic words. Among these may be reckoned such verbs as 'quicken,' 'harden'; sea terms as 'haul,' 'halyard,' 'hawser,' 'skerry,' 'windlass,'

'bulk'; and many common words, as 'bloom,' 'daze,' 'droop,' 'die,' 'fellow,' 'hap,' 'if,' 'gain,' 'gossip,' 'gait,' 'ill,' 'kindle,' 'leg,' 'talk,' 'plough,' 'root,' 'same,' 'sky,' 'tidings,' 'tarn,' 'ugly,' 'weak,' 'yeoman.' 'Dream' may be as much Anglo-Saxon as Icelandic, but the Anglo-Saxon sense of the word, joy, or music, has disappeared, and the Icelandic one remains. The Icelandic 'take' has quite displaced the Anglo-Saxon, and the present tense of the verb 'To be' is mainly Icelandic. 'Whit-Sunday' as an Icelandic word is both interesting and picturesque. Our islands had much to do with giving Christianity to the North; and baptism was here administered chiefly at Easter and Pentecost. But in the North, Easter baptisms could not be held owing to the cold of the climate, and Pentecost became, therefore, the chief season for the rite. At baptism, old and young candidates were dressed in white, and wore their white garments for a whole week afterwards. The picturesqueness of the sight gave rise to the name, and the ecclesiastical word Pentecost never had a chance in the North beside the popular 'White-Sunday.' That word came to England with the Danes, for in Anglo-Saxon there is no trace of any name for the day but 'Pentecostes-daeg.'

The Icelandic throws light on many words and phrases in Middle English which have now disappeared. In the old Metrical Genesis, 'to maken lades and to gaderen Coren,' 'lades' is Icelandic for 'barns.' In the Ormulum, 'mikell geymale' is Icelandic for 'great care.' In the old Psalter,

‘fra heden forth,’ ‘heden’ is Icelandic for ‘hence.’
In the Robin Hood Ballads—

‘When shaws been sheen and shraddes full fair,
Lythe and listen gentlemen,
Busk ye, boune ye, my merry men all’—

the strange words are Icelandic. Slatting is a process not pleasing to the young author. Some years ago there was a discussion as to the origin of the word, and attempts were made to connect it with the Middle English word ‘slaeten,’ ‘to hunt,’ and other words. It is a pure Icelandic word, ‘Sletta,’ ‘to flatten.’ It first appears in this country in the Northumbrian version of the Gospels, and after use as a dialect and local word has again become literary. As a local word it had a home in Liverpool. In the Municipal Records of the town, published by Sir James Picton, mention is made, in the discussions of the Town Council under the year 1647, of demolishing certain earth-works round the castle of Liverpool, which in the days of the Civil War stood where St. George’s Church now stands. Sir James’s extract reads: ‘Ordered that Mr Mayor should request that the Castle be repaired and fortified and the works slaighted.’

Two inflexional changes, probably both due to Icelandic, are interesting. The infinitive mood ended in ‘n’ in Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, and the Old High German, but not in Icelandic. The ‘n’ remains to the present day in German; but dialectical influence in the North and East of England weakened it with us, until it gradually disappeared from Middle English. The same lot

befell the prefix 'ga,' 'ge,' or 'gi.' We are familiar with it in modern German, especially in past participles. It was exceedingly common in Gothic and Anglo-Saxon, prefixed to words of various parts of speech, but was early lost in Icelandic. That prefix disappeared likewise from our English tongue after the invasions of the Danes. Like the 'n' of the infinitive, however, it lingered in literary English until the later Middle English period, in the softened form of 'y' or 'i,' and we find such words as 'yclad,' 'yclept' in Spenser and Shakespeare.

After these examples of the modifying influence of Icelandic on Anglo-Saxon, I would say a few words on certain place-names due to the Danish Settlers. The 'Ridings' and 'Wapentakes' of Yorkshire, the 'Sheadings' of the Isle of Man, the 'Rapes' of Sussex, are Icelandic words. Every school-boy is taught to draw the orthodox conclusion from the terminations of names in 'by,' 'wall,' 'wick,' 'thorpe,' 'thwaite,' 'ay' and the rest; but the Icelandic will often throw light on the body of the word as well as the termination. As a rule, it is dangerous to attempt giving the etymology of a place-name until we have found the earliest form under which it appears, and can trace the changes in it by means of old charters, deeds, or plans. Premising this, I will doubtfully explain two or three names in my own neighbourhood. The word Liverpool itself is one which suggests an old Danish or Norse origin. I take it that the first part, Liver, is the same as the first part of the name of an adjacent spot, Litherland;

so that Liverpool means 'the pool of the slope,' the slope being the rising ground between the river and Everton, the pool being the little creek now built over between the river and the Custom House. The same word Lither appears in the name of a famous place in Iceland, Hlidarendi—Litharend. The late Sir James Picton, who believed in the Keltic origin of the word Liverpool, would not allow that it had the same origin as the word Litherland, because in King John's original Charter to the town the word Liverpool is spelt with a 'v,' and he could not overcome the difficulty of accepting the change of a dental aspirate 'th' to a labial 'f' or 'v.' Such a change is not common, certainly. But classical scholars recognise it when they compare *θύρα* with 'foris,' *θήρ* with 'fera,' *ἔρυθρός* with 'rufus.' There are Icelandic words such as 'þél' which appear in English as 'file,' and we have a parallel case to Liverpool in the word 'Bickerstaff.' The old form of this word, as may be seen in Baines's Lancashire, is Bickerstath or Bickersteth. We might feel doubtful in referring Liverpool to a northern origin if it stood alone, but there are many other place-names in the neighbourhood which it is difficult to refer to any other than the same origin. 'Formby,' the old stead, 'Meols,' the sandhills, 'Lunt,' a grove, 'Thingwall,' field of the Assembly, 'Everton,' the upper town, 'Netherton,' the lower town, 'Sefton,' 'Ormskirk,' 'Kirkby,' 'Skelmersdale'—which word recalls the 'Boggart-hole-clough' of East Lancashire—'Scaresbrick,' 'Scarth Hill,' and many others.

Enough has been said to show that the language spoken by the followers of Knut and Sweyn modified the Anglo-Saxon tongue of this country, and becoming welded with it, helped to form the Early Middle English of the pre-Chaucer times. Its influence is seen in the introduction of new words into the language, and especially the dialects of the country, the modifying inflectional forms, the growth of place-names. In other ways, the idiom and pronunciation for example, its influence was perhaps equally great. The study of the growth of English language and pronunciation from the eleventh to the fourteenth century has been regarded chiefly as a study of the influence of Norman-French on Anglo-Saxon, and much light has been thrown upon it by the labours of the late Professor Skeat and Richard Morris. This would seem to be but an imperfect view, and the time has come when the influence to which I have just sketchily alluded should receive due regard, and be accorded more than a passing observation in the best future text-books of the English language. A powerful help to this end is the publication by Professor Wright, of Oxford, of the great English Dialect Dictionary, founded on the collections of the English Dialect Society.

I now pass to the second part of my subject, the Literature of the Icelandic tongue.

The general observation may first be made, that it is always more delightful to become acquainted with the masterpieces of literature in the original language, than through the medium of translations.

Prose writings, indeed, may be presented in a translation, in a form leaving little to be desired. But it seems doubtful if poetry written in one language can be presented satisfactorily in another. A translator who turns poetry into prose may preserve the ideas of his original, but he neglects, perforce, what may be the poet's greatest charm, his rhythmical form and musical cadences. Fancy a translation of Shelley's 'Alastor' into French prose. On the other hand, if a poet is presented in a metrical translation, the exigencies of rhyme and rhythm play sad havoc with the images and glowing fantasies, blotting his work with sins of omission and of commission. We have, indeed, many admirable translations of poetical works into metrical forms of English. But what classical scholar, wishful to spend an hour with his favourite author, would replace him with the best of these, notwithstanding their many happy renderings? There are no such masterpieces in the Icelandic that cannot be rendered into English so as fairly to content a reader; but there is much that is quaint and original that can only be appreciated in the language in which it is written.

The Age of Literature in Iceland covers a period of about two centuries. The first writer, Ari, was born in 1067, the year after the battle of Hastings. In 1264 Iceland became subject to Norway. To the intervening two centuries belongs nearly all that can interest the student of Icelandic literature. It may fairly be included in about twenty volumes, and it comprises sagas, history and biography, poetry and mythology, and religious writings.

All this is not merely the literature of the Iceland of the time, but the only native vernacular literature of the whole Northern race of Scandinavia, Denmark and the Orkneys. For, as far as I am aware, there is no vernacular literature in Denmark before the fifteenth century. Not that Denmark is without early chroniclers, for Saxo Grammaticus was contemporary with early Icelandic writers, but he wrote in Latin. Norway has, indeed, a thirteenth century vernacular literature, fostered by King Hakon the Old, a contemporary of our Henry III; but it was a foreign and court literature, consisting mainly of translations from French court literature, such as *Lays* and *Lives* of the Heroes of Chivalry. The question is often asked, What cause can have produced such a phenomenon as this blaze of literature in Iceland generations before it shone anywhere else in the Northern race?—a question difficult to answer, for many causes may have contributed to produce the result. But among those that can be assigned for such unique phenomenon, the most potent is probably to be found in the character of the Icelandic immigration. We learn that the despotic rule of Harold Fairhair, when he crushed the petty kings of Norway, and reduced the whole country under his single rule, as Egbert of Wessex had done in England, drove some of Norway's best families to seek a home elsewhere, and many of them settled in the newly discovered uninhabited Iceland. It is to be remembered also that the roving spirit of Northmen, long before this time, had driven the boldest and most active of them to conquer settle-

ments for themselves in Ireland and the outlying parts of Great Britain. And when these colonies in the British Islands heard report of the new found Iceland, and the flight of the Norwegian exiles thither, they too furnished emigrants of Norse and mixed blood to settle in the land where their brethren had found peace. Thus there was introduced into Iceland a strain of the best and noblest Keltic blood, which we may well suppose bore with it traditions of old Irish literature, but at least enriched the new land with something of the gift of facile and expressive speech, and the vivid imagination, which has ever marked the Irish people. From this union of race, Scandinavian with Kelt, sprang that feeling for letters which has made of a wintry, volcanic island a bright oasis, blossoming with sacred memories of heroic deeds and human emotions. And when we compare the literature which Iceland produced during its time of freedom with the Anglo-Saxon and early English literature of the same period, we are struck with the greater richness and fullness of the former; and our wonder is increased when we learn that the population of Iceland could scarcely have been more than one-thirtieth part that of England at the same time, and never probably reached one-tenth of the population of the Liverpool of to-day.

In any enumeration of the Icelandic literary productions the sagas must hold the first place. Let us see how they originated. The centre of the island is one vast uninhabitable volcanic mountainous waste. The coast is cut up by indenting

fjords, into which flow the main rivers of the island. In the valleys through which these rivers flow, especially where they broaden out on approaching the fjords, the population was settled, a population for the most part pastoral. The people of each valley were, naturally, much more closely connected together than to the rest of the community. Well nigh each main valley has left us its saga, the story of some great man or family who lived there, and was the centre around whom feuds raged and stirring deeds were done. The nucleus in each case may have been small, but as the saga was handed down by tradition from generation to generation, it gathered around it subsidiary stories, tales of pure imagination, accounts of supernatural incidents; all being welded together into one delightful mass of story, biography, legend and superstition. So long as a saga was handed down by word of mouth only, expansion of its incidents was kept within bounds—the memory of man is limited; but when the sagas were reduced to writing, every new generation contributed its share to overload the story with all kinds of legendary accretions that bore in any way on the main saga. Fact and fancy are mingled together in a congested mass, especially in the longer sagas. It is this congested character that prevents the sagas from ever becoming popular reading among us. The number of individuals introduced, often merely by name, as in genealogies, is far beyond what any ordinary reader can carry in mind. We may say, therefore, that from an artistic point of view the sagas, with perhaps

one exception—the *Njala*—are deficient in unity. The accretionary legends are sometimes extraordinary. In the *Olaf Saga* there is found what may be termed the William Tell incident, where an archer shoots an apple or other object from the head of a boy. And the *Olaf Saga* is one hundred and fifty years older than the Swiss traditions of William Tell. In *Eric the Red's Saga*, which embodies the discovery of America by the Northmen, there is one of Pliny's Travellers' Tales. Pliny tells us of a race of men in Africa that had only one leg, but who with that one leg could out-run ordinary men with two. The foot of this leg was so large that its owner, when lying on his back, used it as a sunshade to protect him against the sun's rays. A creature of this race was found in America by the Northmen, according to *Eric the Red's Saga*; just as, three centuries later, 'Sir John Mandeville' tells us he found the race in Africa.

Stripped then of its later excrescences, a saga was a story founded on fact, meant to be told by word of mouth, and probably was so told for a century or more before it was written down. The root of the word 'saga' is the same as the English word 'say.' 'Saga' and 'saw,' the English word for a maxim, were doubtless the same word, and meant the same thing originally. But 'saga' has grown bulky, so as to include history and biography; 'saw' has grown small, and means little more than a proverb. The sagas thus had their origin in story-telling, and the Icelander was a born story-teller. He developed and polished his art in the long winter evenings of a sub-arctic home, and

practised it wherever men met and time hung heavily on them. His skill was a ready passport in every land whither chance led him. Let me tell an illustrative story from the sagas of Harold Hardrede, the king who was slain at the battle of Stamford Bridge, Yorkshire, in 1066.

It fell on a summer that an Icelander, young and active, but withal penniless, presented himself before King Harold, and asked for aid. 'Do you know any tales of bye-gone times?' asked the King. The Icelander professed that he could relate a few sagas; and the King replied, 'You shall stay with my guardsmen for the winter, and amuse them whenever they wish and ask you to do so.' So the Icelander took up his quarters with the men, and was soon very popular with them. They gave him raiment, and the King himself furnished him with excellent weapons. As Yule-tide approached the Icelander grew depressed, and when the King asked the cause, could give no reason. 'I'll tell you the reason,' said the King; 'you have come to the end of your stories. All through the winter, night and day, for long periods together, you have been ready to amuse every man that asked you; and now, just when Yule-tide is here, you have a bad feeling that your stories will run short, and you don't want to tell the same a second time.' 'You are right, sire,' replied the Icelander; 'I have only one saga left, and I daren't tell it here; for it is the story of your deeds in foreign lands.' 'That is the very saga I have most curiosity to hear,' said the King. 'You shall do no more in the way of amusing us till Yule; the men are busy.

But the first day of Yule you shall begin the saga, and relate a portion of it. There will be great feasting, and we shall not have too much time for pleasant stories; I will take care, therefore, that the saga and the Yule feast shall come to an end together, and you shall not discover so long as the story lasts whether I am pleased or not.' So the first day of Yule the Icelander began the saga; but he had not recited much of it before the King stopped him. Hereupon the guests eagerly discussed the story. 'He is a bold man, that Icelander,' said one, 'to tell that saga.' 'How will the King like it?' asked another. Some thought the story well told, others did not venture to praise it. The King took pains that the story should have a good hearing, and so managed that it lasted to the end of the feast. And on Twelfth Night he said to the Icelander, 'Have you no wish to know how I like your saga?' 'I dread asking you, sire,' answered the man. 'It seemed to me very well told,' replied the King; 'you nowhere spoke of facts otherwise than as they occurred. Who taught you the story?' The Icelander answered, 'It was my habit, sire, in Iceland, to attend the National Assembly every summer, and year upon year I learnt parts of the saga as it was told by Halldor Snorrason.' 'No wonder you are accurate,' said the King, 'if you learnt from him. My saga shall bring you special gain; for as long as you are willing to stay with me, you shall be welcome.' The Icelander, therefore, spent that winter with the King; and when summer drew nigh the King presented him with an excellent

trading ship, and thenceforward he was a thriving man.

One word more of the saga. As it was meant to be listened to and not read, so its style is marked by incisiveness, clearness and simplicity. And, however much a saga when written down was overloaded with extraneous matter by the piling of episode on episode, the same qualities mark its several portions. But to the modern readers the saga's stories have one great defect. They contain but few appeals to the emotional side of human nature. The Norseman of A.D. 1000 knew not what emotion meant. He was like the Spartan, whose highest effort it was, if not to be without feeling, at least to appear complete master of himself in restraining the emotions. So the teller of stories was no tear-compeller, and rarely ventured even on such pathetic bits as the account of the death of King Olaf's dog Wiggy. Saga heroes all seem hard, and as for saga heroines, what cold ruthless Lady Macbeths they all are, *pace* Mr. William Morris, and the noble Gudrun of the Earthly Paradise. And this lack of emotional appeal is a second reason—I have already mentioned the want of artistic grouping as the first—why English readers allow translations of the sagas to stand untouched on the bookshelf.

Out of the saga grew biography and history—history of the Herodotean type. Simple and bright narratives of events, mingled with quaint folk-lore stories, mythology and legend; full of racy dialogue and the play of wits against wits. The histories tell the lives of the Kings of Norway

and of the Orkney Earls; they relate the story of the Wickings of Jorn, the great piratical community of the Baltic, and they sketch the lives of the Danish kings. If the historical student desires to appreciate the moving force which made the Danes and Northmen a conquering race in every part of Europe, he should read these original documents in the Icelandic. For modern histories but rarely give the same impression of a period or its heroes as contemporary records give. Writers allow the feelings and ideas of their own time to influence them in minimising or ignoring those of the time of which they write. May I instance the case of religious, or if you prefer the word, superstitious feelings. Your pur-blind and rationalistic writer describes the history of a time, suppose, when belief in miracles moved men's minds, when the supernatural encompassed them on every side, when evil spirits and their human servants, wizards and witches, were in league against mankind, and he writes of it in the spirit of his own scientific unbelief, perhaps even omitting the supernatural altogether, as if it could be stripped off a man like a greatcoat, and did not give form and colour to his every action, great and small.

An historical work, relating to Iceland itself, deserves special mention, the *Landnama-bo'c*. It is the Doomsday Book of Iceland, and was first put together, probably by Ari, soon after the time when the English Doomsday Book was compiled. It contains an account of the families of the early settlers from Norway and the British Isles, beginning with Ingolf, who, in A.D. 874, first established

himself in the south-west of the island. It gives also the boundaries of each settler's claim. But the work is no mere bundle of genealogical and geographical facts; it contains other notices, touching, for example, upon human sacrifices, second sight, the land spirits, witchcraft, and the power of wizards to change their shapes. Here is one of such notices: 'Rolf Redbeard claimed all Holmsland between the rivers Fiskay and Rangay, and he abode near Fors, the waterfall. His son Thorstein Rednel lived there after him, and being much given to idolatry, worshipped the waterfall, into which he cast all the remnants of food left by his household. He was remarkable for his prophetic foresight. He used to count his sheep, two thousand in number, as they came forth from the public mountain fold. Each autumn as he gazed upon them he recognised those among them that were fey, or doomed to die, and had them killed for the winter's food. The last autumn of his life, as he looked at the sheep coming forth from the fold, he said, "Kill which ever you like; either all the sheep are fey, or I am fey myself, or we both are." He died during the winter, and on the night of his death all his sheep plunged headlong into the waterfall.'

The men who reduced the sagas to writing are unknown to us, but the writers of the lives of the Kings of Norway are not equally unknown. Half a dozen learned men are mentioned as historians—Ari, Kolskegg, Soenund, Karl Jonson, Snorri, and Sturla. It is no easy matter, however, to distinguish the work of the earliest of these. There

was no law of copyright in Iceland. Snorri, according to the ancient custom, took all that Ari and the others wrote, and absorbed their work, perhaps even incorporating it verbally with his own. His great history is the *Heimskringla*, of which there are two translations in English, but it is a matter of great doubt if we have the work as he left it. More probably it has come down in the polished rewritten shape to which Norwegian kings and nobles had it reduced for their own reading. The last of the historians was Sturla, the author of the *Sturlunga Saga*. His style is the very perfection of simplicity, the incarnation of 'pitiless objectivity.' He wrote also the life of King Hakon the Old, at the command of Hakon's son Magnus. This life has been translated into English by Sir George Dasent, for the Historical Records Commissioners, because of King Hakon's connection with this country. For he was the last Norse King of the Hebrides, over which the ancient Norwegian supremacy was terminated by his defeat at the battle of Largs in 1263.

Mythology and early poetry may naturally be treated together. The main source of our information on ancient Northern mythology is the Icelandic literature. This literature, equally with Anglo-Saxon literature, comes to us from Christian hands. But it is a matter of great regret that our early writers, doubtless from a repugnance begotten of their new faith, shrank from recording the pagan faiths of their ancestors. If the Venerable Bede had left us in the old Northumbrian dialect an

account of the religious superstitions which only died out in his time, and which he might have heard at his mother's knee, what a priceless volume he would have given to the world. He tells us that the month of the great Christian paschal feast was called Easter month from the name of a Saxon goddess whose festival was celebrated in spring; and this is almost the only reference he has made to the gods and goddesses of the Angles and Saxons. Fortunately for all who find pleasure in the study of northern antiquities, the early Christian writers of Iceland, having inherited from their parents the practice of worshipping their ancestors, felt more interest in the faiths of their ancestors than to allow the recollection of them to perish for ever. The richest treasure of mythological legends is the two volumes of the Eddas. One of these volumes is a series of old poems of unknown authorship, collected by a twelfth century lover of folk-lore, from the mouths of northern and western reciters in Iceland and the Orkneys. These poems have been often described. The Prose Edda, written by Snorri, the historian, contains a series of paraphrases of old poems which he strung together as Dickens strung his Christmas Stories. Translations of parts of the Edda are within easy reach. There is also a large collection of what is termed Court poetry, the work of Poets Laureate, so to speak, whose chief business was to praise their royal patrons, while alive, in encomiastic verse, and to compose dirges upon them when dead. There is a little idyllic story of the beginnings of poetic inspiration in one of these Court poets which

reminds us of a similar story in the early life of our first poet, Caedmon:—

Thorleif, the poet of the Orkney Earls, was buried in cairn at Thingwall, in Iceland. Long afterwards a shepherd name Hallbion used to lead his flocks to pasture by the mound, upon which he himself slept at nights. The desire often entered his mind to compose a poem in praise of the dweller in the cairn. But as he was no poet, not having skill to arrange fitly the alliterative words and rhymes, he never made further progress than the words—

A poet lies beneath this mound

One night he was lying as usual on the cairn wondering how he might add something to his half line. He fell asleep, and behold the cairn opened, and a man came forth, tall and well-equipped, who walked up to Hallbion and thus spake: ‘There you lie, Hallbion, labouring on that for which you have no gift, the composition of a poem on me. If you are born to be a poet, you will be more likely to learn the art from me than from others. If not, you had better trouble yourself no further about it. I will compose the first verse for you, and if you remember it when you wake, you will become a great poet, and compose poems about noble chieftains, and grow famous.’ The ghost then took hold of the shepherd’s tongue, pulled it and stretched it, reciting at the same time this verse:

A poet lies beneath this mound, the prince of poets he,
Who boldly blamed Earl Hakon for greed and tyranny,
With keen lampoon in his own hall he satirized the Prince,
Such deed of courage ne’er was seen either before or since.

'You will now make your first essay in poetry,' said he, 'by writing a poem in my praise when you awake, choosing carefully the diction and paying special attention to the poetical figures.' Having thus spoken, he turned into the cairn, which closed up after him, and Hallbion awoke, just in time to catch a glimpse of his shoulders. He remembered the verse, and taking his cattle home, told the story and completed the poem. Afterwards he became a famous poet, composing poems in honour of many great chiefs, who rewarded him with rich gifts and high esteem.

In the old Eddic poetry, the chief devices of versification were alliteration and stress, as in Anglo-Saxon poetry. But the Court poetry had a much more complex structure. The laws of its form were so stringent that few of the Court poets give the impression of being untrammelled by them, and only a genius like Hallfred, the poet of King Olaf Tryggwason, could display poetic fervour under them. Each stanza of a poem consisted of four lines, or rather eight half-lines, and each half-line contained six syllables in the form of three trochees. In the space of the two half-lines were contained three alliterations, a rhyme and a half-rhyme. Consider the two half-lines—

Homeward hies the deemster
Heartsick now at parting;

the first letter in the second half-line, 'h,' is the alliterative letter; there must be two words beginning with 'h' in the first half-line. These are 'homeward' and 'hies.' There must be a half

rhyme in the first half-line, this is found in the words 'home' and 'deem.' The full rhyme is in the second half-line, 'heart' and 'part' (Homeward hies the deemster, Heartsick now at parting).

These shackles led to the excessive growth of a species of metaphor called a kenning. We use a kenning when we call a ship 'the steed of the main,' so does the penny-a-liner when he speaks of the 'devouring element.' These are simple kennings; but kennings may be double, triple, or compound. It is a simple kenning when we call gold 'the flame of the sea,' or call the sea 'the playground of fishes.' It becomes a double kenning when we call gold the 'flame of the playground of fishes.' As an example of a compound kenning, meaning warrior, found in the saga of King Olaf Tryggwason, we may take dock-steeds, moon's-gales, fire hurler. The dock-steed is a ship, a ship's moon is a shield, the shield's gale is battle, the battle's fire is spear, and spear hurler is warrior. No small intelligence was needed in the hearer to follow and understand what was meant; many of the stock kennings refer to mythological and folklore stories, as for instance, when gold is described as Sif's hair, or Freya's tears, or Frodi's meal. A large part of the Prose Edda was written by Snorri to be an 'Ars Poetica,' in which he explains the origin of kennings. To the question, 'Why is gold called the flame of the sea?' he thus answers, paraphrasing a passage from an old poem—'The story tells us that Aegir, god of Ocean, attended a feast at Ansegarth, the abode of the gods, and on his departure invited Odin and the other Anses to

a banquet. Those who attended were Odin, Niord, Frey, Tyr, Bragi, Vidar, Loki; and the goddesses Frigg, Freya, Gefion, Skadi, Iduna, and Sif. Thor was unable to be present, for he had gone away into Eastern lands to slay Trolls. All having taken their seats, Aegir commanded a mass of bright gold to be brought in and placed on the floor of the hall, which it lighted up like a fire in the same way that Valhalla is lighted up by the gleaming swords of the heroes.' Such is the mythological explanation of 'flame of the sea' as a kenning for gold. And to the question, why is gold called 'Sif's hair?' Snorri answers—'Loki, the son of Lanfey, in order to show his skill, cut off all Sif's hair. When her husband, Thor, became aware of this, he seized Loki, and would have broken every bone of his body if he had not sworn to go and beg from the Dwarfs that they would make Sif new hair of gold, which should grow like the hair she had lost.'

You will gather from these illustrations that a more appropriate name for Court poetry would be Court verse. Only here and there, 'rari nantes,' may be seen the evidence of a poet's 'fine frenzy'; instead thereof is much skill in putting together word puzzles and much use of extravagant metaphor. In imagination, fire and in irony, the Court poetry is far beneath the old Eddic poetry. The struggle for excessive correctness of rhythm, and a contracted idea of the beauty of form, were fatal to poetic feeling. Strange to say, the Court poetry is valuable chiefly to the historical student. In the lives of the Kings there often appear verses, quoted

quite uselessly as illustrations. But they are really the contemporary evidence on which the historian founded his prose narrative of facts.

Space fails me to refer to the homilies and other religious literature. The linguistic value of these is high, because the oldest Icelandic manuscripts, older than those of kings' lives and sagas, are manuscripts of homilies. Neither can I refer to the 'Lyga-sogur,' lying sagas. These are chiefly short stories, imitations of the real saga, and are works of pure imagination—in fact, novels.

When the first discoverers of Iceland carried back home to Norway their impressions of the land they had visited, these impressions could not have been very favourable, or the name Iceland would not have stuck to it. Some reported nothing but ill; others spoke in mixed accents of praise and disparagement; but one traveller declared that butter dropped from every blade of grass. So with respect to the literature of Iceland. I have heard men say that the language should by all means be studied, because of its value to the philological student; but the literature need not occupy the attention of any reader of modern English, French and German. In that opinion I do not concur; I hope rather that the eager student of the language will find entertainment in the sagas, as I have done, and that 'butter drops from every blade of grass.'

J. SEPHTON.

SOME EARLY BOOKSELLERS AND THEIR CUSTOMERS.



ON Tuesday, the tenth of February, 1354, —in other words, in the twenty-eighth year of Edward the Third—a very serious affray between town and gown broke out at Oxford.

Some students entered the Mermaid Tavern, then known as Swyndlestoks, or Swynstocks, and called for wine. John de Croydon, vintner, served them; but the wine was not to their liking, and they told him so. It is possible that they were only indulging in a little banter at his expense, and that he, being a slow-witted or super-sensitive man, took the matter seriously and resented their remarks. But whatever the cause of the quarrel, angry words led one of the students to hurl wine and vessel at the vintner's head. He called for help, his friends and neighbours rushed in, and the gownsmen had to fight for their lives. There was always a latent hostility between the scholars and the townsmen, the latter resenting the power over them that was given to the Chancellor of the University. The slightest provocation was enough to bring masters and apprentices, and even women, into the streets, armed with bows and arrows, sticks and stones, for an attack on the students, and on this occasion the

signal was given by the ringing of the town bell at St. Martin's. On the other hand, the gownsmen summoned their fellows by ringing the University bell at St. Mary's.

Few, if any, of the colleges, as we know them now, were then in existence, the clerks or scholars living with the professors under whom they were studying in what were known as hostels or inns. The Chancellor of the University at that time was Humphrey de Cherleton, who narrowly escaped being transfixed by an arrow on venturing into the streets to try to quell this disturbance. Nothing more serious than broken heads resulted before darkness put an end to the scrimmage, and the Chancellor no doubt thought that, as on previous occasions, a night's reflection would bring peace between the combatants. But in this he was mistaken. Early the following morning the townsmen, summoned by the ringing of the town bell, gathered in large numbers, and not content with attacking any student who happened to be abroad, made an organised attack on the hostels or inns in which they lived, killing the inmates and destroying their books and furniture.

This went on for two or three days, with the result that most of the clerks or students who were resident in the town were either killed or fled into the surrounding country. Amongst those who appear to have remained was Lewis de Cherleton, brother of the Chancellor, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, but then merely a teacher in the University, taking private pupils in theology, civil law, and mathematics. The house in which he lived was known

as Cherleton's Inn, and stood on the site of All Souls' College. In all probability it escaped attack by the turbulent citizens, but on this point there is no information. It can, however, be readily believed that Lewis de Cherleton, as well as his brother the Chancellor, must have been an eye-witness of, if not an actual participator in, the wild scenes enacted in Oxford during those eventful days. At any rate, both of them set to work to restore peace without delay, and obtained from the King the release of some of the townsmen who had been imprisoned for their share in the riot, as well as his protection for the scholars—an act of generosity that led to their names being enrolled in the album of benefactors, and an annual mass for their souls being celebrated on St. Edmund's Day.

Another citizen of Oxford at that time was Richard Lynne, stationer to the University. His shop was perhaps in Cat Street, which seems to have been the home of stationers of a later date. At any rate, he was a dealer in books, and is certainly one of the earliest provincial stationers of whom we have any record. Amongst his customers was Lewis de Cherleton, who on the 8th February, 1358 (? 1359), bought of him a copy of the '*Historia Scholastica*' of Petrus Comestor. This book is now in the possession of New College, and is described by Coxe as a folio, written in double columns in a hand of the thirteenth century. The volume had previously been in the possession of John and Stephen de Harnesby, by whom it had been pledged on the Monday next before the feast of St. Gregory, in

1354, and was afterwards in the hands of an unknown scholar, who also placed it as a 'cautio,' or bond, 'in cista de Turwille . . . crastino Sancti Vincentii anno Domini m.ccc.lvi.,' all which interesting information is duly recorded in the volume itself, and has been faithfully set down by Coxe in his catalogue.

New College also possesses another copy of the same work, or the second part of it, which belonged to an Oxford man of note, Thomas Cranley, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin. He began his college career as a Fellow of Merton in 1366, and successively held the offices of Principal of Hart Hall and Warden of New. It was probably about that time that he bought this book of John Brown, stationer, of Oxford, a fact which he duly recorded at the commencement of the manuscript, but without saying when, or what he gave for it. At any rate, we may be grateful to him for preserving this stationer's name. Archbishop Cranley was a great book-collector, and many of his treasured volumes are still on the shelves of New College, to which he bequeathed them.

Particulars of another interesting book-sale are recorded by Coxe in his description of the manuscripts of University College, Oxford. The work is described as, '*Gulielmi Peraldi Lugdunensis opus de vitiis septem in partes totidem distinctum*,' a folio of 228 leaves, in a thirteenth-century hand. This book was bought by William Palmer, sometime precentor of the church at Crediton, in Devon, of Thomas Veysey, stationer, of London, in August, 1433, for the sum of £1 13s. 4d., and was afterwards

given to the dean and parishioners of Crediton by William Palmer's executor, John Lyndon. Of the purchaser we know no more than this note tells us; but Thomas Veysey, the stationer, can be traced on the De Banco Rolls as late as the year 1478. (De Banco Roll, Mich. 18 Ed. 4, roll 868 m, 490 verso.)

Passing now from Oxford to Cambridge, I am indebted to Mr. G. J. Gray for the following note from Dr. James's Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College. No. 164 is a small folio in a hand of the fourteenth century, containing Ralph Higden's 'Polychronicon,' the 'Biblia Pauperum,' and other works, and at the foot of the first folio is written—

'liber m. Johannis Gunthorp decani Wellensis emptus a david lyenel 13^a Julii a^o. vij^o h. vij^{mi} pro iiijs^s iiij^d.'

The purchaser in this case was an ecclesiastic, who, like Wolsey and Cromwell in later times, rose to great power in the State. Some accounts say that he was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, and that with John Free or Freas he studied in foreign universities. In 1483 he was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal, with a salary of twenty shillings a day, to be taken from the subsidies of the ports of Sandwich, Poole, Bristol, and Bridgewater. He also held the office of Clerk of the Parliament, with an annual salary of £40. In addition to this, he was King's Almoner, Secretary to the Queen, Prebendary of St. Stephen's, Westminster, Master or Warden of Queen's Hall, Cambridge, and, finally, Dean of Wells, where he died in 1498.

There is no doubt that John Gunthorp possessed a large number of books, many of which he had picked up during his travels abroad, while others, like the one above noted, were purchased in London.

It will be noticed that nothing is said by Gunthorp to show that David Lyenel was a 'stationer,' but we learn this from the De Banco Rolls, on which his name occurs twice in the years 1484-5. In the first he figures as 'David Leonell stationer and serjeant at arms,' and as defendant in a suit brought by John Pery, grocer. In the second he went bail for a certain Hugh Lyonell, goldsmith, of London, possibly a brother. (De Banco Rolls, 890 m 438 recto, and 894 m 28 verso.)

He was appointed one of the King's Sergeants-at-Arms in 1474, and received twelve pence for his wages from the fee farm of the City of London, and a livery of the suit of esquires of the household yearly at Christmas at the Great Wardrobe. (Calendar of Patents, Edward IV—Henry VI, p. 461.) In some accounts of the reign of Edward IV, preserved amongst the Harleian Manuscripts, is a payment of £18 5s. to 'David Leonell serjeant at arms.' (Harl. 433, f. 310^b.)

Here then we have four 'stationers' who prove to have been dealers in books, and the fact that the names of Thomas Veysey and David Lyenel as stationers came to light before the discovery of these book sales, emphasizes the importance of making a note of all 'stationers,' wherever they may be found. Thanks to the De Banco Roll

entries, we now know that Thomas Veysey's life-work covered a period of at least forty-five years, while David Lyenel can be traced from the year 1474, when he was made sergeant-at-arms, until 1491, the year in which he sold John Gunthorp the copy of Higden's 'Polychronicon,' now on the shelves of Corpus Christi College.

HENRY R. PLOMER.

ROBERT COPLAND AND PIERRE GRINGOIRE.

THAT Robert Copland, the literary printer who worked in the printing office of Wynkyn de Worde, translated his 'Complaint of them that be too late married' from the French has been noticed by critics, and indeed cannot escape the observation of even a careless reader, but I am not aware that the source of his inspiration has been indicated.

Amongst the many productions of Pierre Gringoire there is a 'Complainte de trop tard marié.' There were various editions, some with, and some without his name, but his authorship of the tract was shown by an acrostic forming the last eight lines of the poem, and beginning

Gouverner debuez la maison.

This easy cryptogram was imitated by Copland in these lines:

THE AUCTOUR.

Rychenes in youth with good gouernance,
Often helpeth age when youth is gone his gate;
Both yonge and olde must haue theyr sustenance
Euer in this worlde, soo ye kyll and rethrograte:
Ryght as an ampte, the whiche all gate,
Trusseth and caryeth for his lyues fode,
Eny thyng that whiche hym seemeth to be good.

Crysten folke ought for to haue
 Open hertes vnto God almyght,
 Puttynge in theyr mynde thyr soule to saue,
 Lernynge to come vnto the eternall lyght,
 And kepe well theyr maryage and trouth plyght;
 Nothing [*sic*] alwaye of theyr last ende,
 Durynge theyr lyues how they the tyme spende.

When John Payne Collier reprinted Copland's poem he did not notice this indication of authorship, but it was pointed out to him later, and is duly mentioned in his 'Bibliographical Account.'

I have not access to a copy of Gringoire's poem, but two verses are quoted in Gay's 'Bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs à l'amour,' etc. (t. i. col. 640). One is sufficient to show the identity of the material of Copland and Gringoire:

Elle va ès banquets ou dances,
 Pour cela et n'offence en rien;
 Il faut qu'el prenne ses playsances
 Quelque part, si je cognois bien.
 Pourquoi je veuil dire et soustien
 Que plus souvent avec moy l'eusse,
 Si plus tot marie me fusse.

Compare this with Copland:

If that she go to bancketts and daunces,
 She doth none offence therin certayne:
 Nedes she must have her pleasaunces
 In some place to make her glad and fayne,
 Wherefore I dare well say and susteyne
 That after with me I wolde haue her ledde,
 If ony soner I had ben to her wedde.


Another of Copland's translations from the French is a 'Complaynt of them that be to soone

maryed' (Wynkyn de Worde 1535)—no doubt a version of Gringoire's 'Complainte de trop tost marié.'

Copland was not a poet, but his verses are interesting documents in the history of our early popular literature. There is a good notice of him in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.' His 'Complaynte of them that ben too late married' is included in Collier's 'Illustrations of Early English Popular Literature' (1863). Of the companion 'Complaint' there is an analysis in Dibdin's *Ames* (ii. 384). His best work, the 'Highway to the Spital House,' which is reprinted in Hazlitt's 'Early Popular Poetry' (iv., 17) presents a vivid though satirical view of some aspects of English life at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

THE RESERVED BOOKS FROM THE KING'S LIBRARY.

N histories of book-collecting and works on the British Museum, reference has often been made to the fact that by order of his successor certain books were reserved from the library of George III at the time of its transference to the Museum. The following account of these books is here printed from a transcript of the memorandum drawn up by Sir Frederic Augusta Barnard. At the end of the transcript is the note

This is a faithful copy. Nich. Carlisle
Royal Library,
Palace, Kensington
19th June, 1828.

It will be seen that the books were thirty in number, of which one was bequeathed to the King by a Mr. Hewett of Ipswich, and twenty-seven presented to him by the well-known antiquary, Jacob Bryant.

MEMORANDUM

ALL the Books which are mentioned in the following List, have been taken out of The Royal Catalogue, by Command of His Present Majesty George the Fourth,—such Order having been com-

municated by the King in person to Mr. Barnard, the Librarian, at St James's on Sunday Evening the 15th of June, 1828,—at which interview Mr. Barnard had the honour of being created a Master of the Guelphic Order of Knighthood,—His Majesty himself, with condescending goodness, investing him with the usual Decorations.

The following Books have likewise been commanded by His Majesty not to be sent to the British Museum,—

Psalmorum Codex ad usum Chori; typis Missalibus. fol. maj. in pergamena, Johannes Fust et Petrus Schoeffer de Gernscheym, Moguntia, 1457.

This most splendid and rare Book was purchased out of the University Library at Gottingen by His Majesty George the Third, at the Price of Four Hundred guineas.

The Subtyl Historyes and Fables of Æsop, translated out of Frensshe into Englysshe, by Wylliam Caxton, also, the Fables of Avian, Alfonse and Poge, the Florentyn; with a Portrait of Æsop, and cuts in wood. fol., Wylliam Caxton, Westmynstre, 1484. 142 leaves.

On a leaf in the front of this fine copy is written,—

The Esops Fables, now in the King's Library, was left to His Majesty by the late Mr. Hewett of Ipswich, in Suffolk; and delivered to Mr. Allen by Philip Broke Esq^{re}., and Sir John Hewett, Bart., to present to the King.

Mr. Dibdin says "His Majesty's copy is the only perfect one I ever saw." *Typographical Antiquities*. vol. i. p. 220.

Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. The second impression, with his Portrait from the original Picture in the possession of Mr. Felton. fol. London, 1632.

In the front of this inestimable Book are the following illustrious Autographs, and literary history,—

“Dum spiro spero. C. R.”

In the writing of King Charles the First.

Bought at the sale of Dr. Antony Askew, Feb^y. 14th. 1775, at the enormous price of Five Pounds ten shillings.

George Steevens.

It appears that Dr. Askew purchased this Book at Dr. Mead's sale for £2. 12. 6.

“Ex Dono sereniss. Regis Car. servo suo humiliss.

T. Herberto.”

In the handwriting of Mr. Herbert.

¹ { Sir Thomas Herbert was Master of the
Revels to K. Charles 1.

² { “This is a mistake, he having been Groom of
the Bedchamber to K. Charles 1., but Sir
Henry Herbert was Master of the Revels.”

The two lines marked No. 1 were written by Mr. Stevens, at whose sale this book was purchased,—And the correction marked No. 2 was made and written by His late Majesty George III.

Fred. Aug. Barnard,

Librarian.

In the Introduction to the Catalogue of the Royal Library, Mr. Barnard observes, “If King

Charles the First was ever able to form a more important Library, it shared the fate of his other valuable Collections, and was dispersed; for so rancorous was the enmity which prevailed against that unfortunate Monarch, that even Milton unfeelingly and illiberally reproached him with consoling himself during his confinement in the Isle of Wight, with his favourite author Shakespeare, "the well known closet companion of his solitude"; and that instead of spending his time in Prayer and devotion, he was studying the art of dissembling, from the character of King Richard the Third. It is a curious circumstance, that the identical copy of Shakespeare's Works here alluded to, which the King marked with his accustomed adage *Dum Spiro Spero*, and gave to his loyal and affectionate servant, Sir Thomas Herbert, should now be preserved in the Royal Library, a melancholy record of those unhappy times.

A LIST OF BOOKS GIVEN TO THE KING BY
MR. BRYANT, OCTOBER 1ST, 1782.

N.B. The above title is in the handwriting of His late Majesty King George the Third.

The List itself is written by Mr. Bryant, and occasional notices are added by Mr. Barnard.

Books presented.

1. Lactantii opera. fol. 1468. Suueynheym et Pannartz.

Cette édition est encore fort rare, et très recherchée des curieux. See De Bure No. 292. The initial Letters are finely illuminated.

2. *Sancti Gregorii Decretales.* fol. Moguntiaë, per Petrum Schoeffer, 1473.

It is printed partly on paper and partly on vellum, and has illuminations. M. Maittaire fait mention de cette édition, qui est très rare, et dont il a vue deux exemplaires, &c. De Bure N°. 922. It was formerly in the Harleian Collection.

3. *Boccaccio De Mulieribus claris.* fol. Ulmæ, per Johannem Zeyner de Reutlingen, 1473.

In this book are some very early specimens of engraving upon wood; perhaps the most early. See De Bure No. 6098. Première édition de ce livre rare et recherchée.

4. *Sancti Isidori Hispalens. Etymologicum.* fol.

A very ancient edition, without date, and without the name of either place or printer. Not mentioned by De Bure, nor do I find it taken notice of by any writer, or in any Catalogue. Hence I should think it very scarce. See the note of the Duc de la Vallière N°. 2185 Harl. Cat. N°. 15473. Hanc editionem cui neque loci neque anni ulla nota subjicitur, typi demonstrant ipsi vetustissimam.

5. *Historia Tripartita, ex Socrate, Sozomeno et Theodorito desumpta.* fol. Augustaë, 1472, per Johan. Schuzler.

I do not find this in De Bure. See De Bure N°. 4394. Edition recherchée par les curieux; on fait très peu de cas de toutes les autres.

6. *S^{ti} Thomæ Aquinatis Prima pars secundæ Partis Summæ.* fol. upon vellum. Moguntiaë, 1471, per Petrum Schoeffer.

Very scarce, and not mentioned by De Bure. The first leaf is wanting. Maittaire gives this book to the year 1472, which is an error. See also Harl. Cat. N°. 953.

7. Flavii Josephi Historiarum lib. vii. fol. Romæ, 1475, per Arnold Pannartz.

On fait beaucoup de cas de cette édition ; quoiqu'elle ne contienne cependant que les vii. livres concernant la guerre des Juifs, parceque l'impression en est magnifiquement exécutée en lettres rondes. Les exemplaires en sont d'ailleurs devenus rares dans le commerce. De Bure N°. 4677.

8. Æneæ Sylvii (qui et Pius Secundus) epistolæ. fol.

A very ancient edition. See a Manuscript account prefixed to the beginning of this book, which is taken from the Index Expurgatorius.

9. Senecæ Tragœdiæ. fol.

Printed, as we may infer, at Ferrara. Editio Princeps. Not mentioned by De Bure or Maittaire. Editio Prima impressa anno 1481, in quo Hercules Dux Ferrariæ Victor rediit è bello Veneto, ut ex versibus in fine videtur.

10. Bartholomæus Anglus, de Proprietatibus rerum. fol.

A fine copy of uncertain date ; but very ancient. Bought at the sale of Dr. Meade for 15^s. Not mentioned by De Bure.

11. Sidonii Apollinaris Poema Aureum.

4^{to}. Mediolani, 1478, per Uldaricum Scinzenzeler.

Editio Princeps. See De Bure N°. 2860.

12. Dialogus Creaturarum. fol. Goudæ. 1482.

It has many specimens of engraving upon wood. Concerning the Editions of this book, see De Bure vol. 2. p. xxvi. also p. 170.

13. Horatii opera, curâ Landini. fol. Venetiis, 1483.

An Edition of this book was in the preceding year (1482) printed at Florence.

14. P. Papirii Statii Thebais. fol.

A fine copy with the initial letters illuminated. No date, place, or printer's name specified,—but the Edition very early. Not noticed by De Bure, Maittaire, Fabricius, Markland in his preface. Orlandi seems to have seen it, by the title of his first Statius.

15. Valerii Maximi factorum et dictorum Memorabilium liber. fol. Venetiis, 1474, per Johan de Coloniâ et Manthen de Gherretshem.

16. Beati Gregorii Moralia; aliaque ipsius opera. fol.

A very ancient edition. Upon the blank leaves immediately preceding, and subsequent to the printed sheets is to be discovered very plainly the Heifer's head; which was a particular mark of very ancient paper.

17. Antonii Panormitani epistolæ. fol.

A very ancient edition; not mentioned by De Bure, nor do I know any writer, by whom this book is mentioned. This Author's real name is Beccatellus; but this book is not noticed by Fabricius amongst his other works.

18. Donati in Terentii Comœdias Comment. fol. Mediolani, 1476, per Ant. Zarottum.

Not mentioned by De Bure, Maittaire or Fabricius.

19. Terentii Comœdiæ, cum comment. Donati. fol. Tarvisii, 1477. v. Fabricius

20. Leonardi Aretini de Bello Gothico. fol. Fulgentiæ, 1470.

Edition très rare et la première de ce livre. See De Bure no. 5015. Bought at Dr. Mead's sale. De Bure and Maittaire have transcribed the Colophon of this book erroneously, which has occasioned the doubt if it was printed at Fulgentium.

21. Sancti Leonis Papæ Sermones. fol.

Printed in the Pontificate of Pope Pius (Paul) the Second, who died anno 1471. This, without any farther date, shows the antiquity of the book. By comparing this Edition with Campanus's edition of Quinctilian printed at Rome by Udalricus Gallus in 1470, it appears to have been printed with the same types. Laire and the Catalogue of the Duke de la Valière fix the date to the end of the year 1470.

22. Virgilii opera, 12°. Venetiis, 1505, apud Aldum.

23. Marci Antonii Sabellici Enneadum libri tres, sive ab Orbe condito historia. fol. Venetiis, 1498. This volume is finely illuminated, but hurt by the worm, which may easily be repaired.

N.B.—This work of Sabellicus consists properly of Seven Enneades; for which reason another entire copy is sent, from whence this noble volume may be completed. For a second may out of this

be taken, and bound up similar to the former. It is a scarce Work, and not mentioned by De Bure, nor to be found in the Catalogue of Mr. Gaignat.

24. Marci Ant. Sabellici historiæ Venetæ
Decades quatuor. fol. Venetiis, 1487,
per Andream de Torresanis de Asulâ.

An edition not very obvious, as we may learn from De Bure. M. A. C. Sabellici. Hist. rerum Venetarum. Ouvrage peu commun, et recherché, &c. N°. 5035. This volume completes the Historical works of Sabellicus. It is a book finely printed for the time; and has a noble margin, which should not be diminished, if it be new bound. [Upon vellum.]

25. Le Recueil des histoires composé par Raoul le Fevre. fol. Cologne, printed between 1464 and 1467.¹

See a manuscript account in the book.

26. The Doctrinal of Sapyence, translated out of Frenshe by Wyllyam Caxton. fol. on vellum. Westminster, 1489.
27. Missale secundum usum Ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis. fol. on vellum. Rothomagi, 1497.

¹ Now assigned to Bruges, Caxton and Colard Mansion, or Mansion alone, 1475 or 1476.

REVIEWS.

Descriptive List of the Maps of the Spanish Possessions within the present limits of the United States, 1502-1820. By [the late] Woodbury Lowery. Completed by P. Lee Phillips, Chief, Division of Maps and Charts, Library of Congress. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1912. 8vo. pp. x. 567. Price \$1.00.

THIS is a catalogue founded on a bequest by Woodbury Lowery, which took effect upon his death on 11th April, 1906, and which, with other literary collections, gave to the Library of Congress a collection of 306 maps grouped under the above title. Associated with this collection for the purpose of the list are 206 maps in the Library of Congress (map division), and 184 in other collections. In a Prefatory note are set out also the titles of 101 maps, in manuscript, recently transferred to the Library of Congress from the collection of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey drawn by J. G. Kohl.

Its contents are sufficiently indicated by its title. The list is an important addition to the very few existing subject-catalogues of maps supplied with full descriptive details. Such work hardly admits of detailed criticism, but it is so much of an innovation in cataloguing as to invite consideration generally, from the point of view particularly of form, method and detail. The building up of series of special descriptive catalogues grouping together individual

maps on various lines of classification might, obviously, lead in time to an enormous accumulation of printed matter which, in a large measure, would be in the form of repetition in various arrangements of the same materials.

The List now published may be examined from the point of view of this possibility and of the evils which might result therefrom.

The descriptive matter of which it consists is composed of three elements: (i) the original catalogue notes of Mr. Lowery, which do not appear to have been subject to any revision by the present editor, although they are in some cases in a somewhat abbreviated and disjointed form; (ii) the original notes of the editor; and (iii) excerpts, titles and references, from other sources, collected by the editor. It may be observed, in regard to the two latter portions of the work, that their arrangement, especially in the matter of type, punctuation, and the use of capitals, italics and inverted commas, produces rather a confused effect, and makes the assimilation of the real meaning by the reader distinctly troublesome. Very frequently it is difficult to disentangle the text for which the editor is responsible, from the quotations, titles and references; and confusion permeates this part of the text as to the exact point at which extracts end and the text of the editor is resumed. No rigid rule seems to be followed as to the use of double and single inverted commas, and as to the printing of titles of books in italic or roman type, and as to their inclusion or not in inverted commas. Facility of consultation is cer-

tainly much prejudiced by this want of uniformity. It may be doubted also whether the frequent printing at length of the reference to 'Phillips' List of Geographical Atlases,' which occurs sometimes as often as four times on a single page, and occasionally several times in a very few lines, is necessary; it is certainly fatiguing to the reader. Seeing that the latter work is the standard and basis of map-cataloguing as far as the Library of Congress is concerned, and that this special list is in the nature of a supplement to and is arranged exactly on the model of the Atlas List, a very short abbreviation would be adequate, and would certainly be pleasanter to follow in the text. This is a blemish only, but the rather scrappy appearance given to the general text is certainly something more than a blemish from a typographical standpoint, and might be amended possibly in any future work constructed on the same or like lines.

The expediency of making so large an addition of extracts and citations may be questioned. In some cases five, six, or seven pages of this form of annotation are expended on a single map. As has been suggested, such wealth of extracts and detailed references is a possible embarrassment in future catalogues, involving duplication on a large scale. In view of anything in the nature of a series of descriptive catalogues made up of details of individual maps, such as may very well little by little come into being, some set of standard references would seem worth consideration. Probably the soundest foundation for map-cataloguing is the Atlas Catalogue, and here the Library of Congress,

in its admirable and original List of Geographical Atlases, compiled by the editor of the List now under review, has an unique basis, to which, indeed, the present List of Maps adapts itself as far as it goes on common ground. If the large number of notes and extracts of textual matter can be justified as not involving verbal extravagance in their application to individual and detached maps, they are subject, to a small extent, to the criticism that, uncontrolled, they may perpetuate and stereotype error, and that also their association with a context may not be perfect. There is certainly some lack of literary fluency and of clearness in the present case. To deal with particular examples which suggest themselves in a study of the text, it may be asked whether a quotation from Hallam's 'Literature of Europe' has any value in the modern study of historical cartography (p. 74)? and it must be noted that the statement quoted (p. 122) from the 'Dictionary of National Biography' as to John Speed, 'In 1607 he copied Norden's map of Surrey for the first edition of Camden's "Britannia,"' contains two grave blunders—the first edition of the 'Britannia' being of 1586, and the folio edition of 1607 (the first illustrated by a set of county maps), containing no map at all by Speed, the particular map referred to being engraved by William Kip after Norden. Again, on page 160, the Preface to a section of the 'Calendar of State Papers' is quoted as attributing to John Ogilby, whose 'Britannia' was published in 1675, and who died in 1676, the position of 'originator' of 'Paterson's Roads,' the latter publication, which

differed essentially from Ogilby's work, appearing nearly a century later, in 1771 ('A New and Accurate Description'). The suggested connection between these two publications has no historical consistency. These are comparatively trifling matters; but they illustrate the danger of accepting without examination the text of what are regarded as 'authorities.' A more substantial point arises on page 143, in the treatment of the maps and atlases of Nicolas Sanson the elder. The present writer is not aware of any foundation for the statement that the collection of maps of this celebrated geographer, entitled '*Les cartes générales de toutes les parties du monde*' can be carried back to as early as 1644. It is true that some of Sanson's maps are of dates of this and earlier periods, and may have been put together even by then in atlas form; but it appears that there is no printed title-page and printed list of contents of an actual atlas earlier than 1658, and, if this be the case, that date is the only one to which the commencement of a settled series of atlases under the above title can be properly attributed. In general there seems in the notes and extracts a confusion between the contemporaneous plates of the rival cartographical establishments of the Blaeus and Janssons and their respective successors, a confusion which arises in the original notes of Lowery. It may also be observed that the quotation from a summarized notice relative to the cartographer John Cary hardly does him justice. As a matter of fact further investigation of the work of this cartographer very much strengthens his position as a

map engraver, and shows that his output was very large indeed and distinguished by much cartographic ability. The absence of particulars of the scales of the maps described may be regarded as a serious defect in description. Obviously the scale is at least as important to the proper literary description of a map as the dimensions of its proper surface. Of course any statement of scale in early maps is very approximate, but in all cases it seems both illustrative and instructive, and it appears curious that this fundamental detail should be uniformly omitted in this 'Descriptive List.' Other details of description might have been uniformly added in a systematic arrangement; but this has not fallen within the plan of the work, and no criticism is appropriate. It will be gathered from the above observations, that in view of future descriptive lists of maps, and the desirability of their co-ordination and of the setting up of some standard of both method and grouping of material, some agreement between librarians and those to whom may be confided the work of compiling such lists is considered possible, and would be well put forward for discussion.

Notwithstanding the above criticisms, this particular 'Descriptive List,' when studied in connection with the previous Catalogue of Atlases, is a work of great interest and value. Its form and method are very instructive, and the several indexes are undoubtedly works of considerable art. The general get-up of the book is charming, and the price at which it is put on the market extremely moderate.

H. G. F.

Library Classification and Cataloguing. By James Duff Brown. Illustrated. London, Libraco Ltd. 1912. pp. xii, 261. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Mr. Brown's 'Library Economy' has established itself as an indispensable book, and this new work on 'Library Classification and Cataloguing' attains the same excellence. Every important system of classification is here set forth, and pages from all the chief catalogues are reproduced in miniature as illustrations. The annotated 'Rules for Cataloguing' are reprinted from the 'Library Economy,' and some of the Appendixes have also appeared before. In that on Dates we regret to see that Mr. Brown still puts forward MXCVIIM as a way of writing 1902. It is possible that a parallel may be found in some book (parallels for most follies may be found in books), but that it is a freak and not a normal method of date-writing, just as it would be a freak to express 2 by viiix, we are quite clear.

Catalogue of the books and papers for the most part relating to the University Town and County of Cambridge bequeathed to the University by John Willis Clark. By A. T. Bartholomew. Cambridge, at the University Press. 1912. pp. xiv, 282. Price 7s. 6d. net.

The late J. W. Clark, the Registry of the University of Cambridge, bequeathed to the University Library a collection of upwards of ten thousand books, pamphlets and pieces of print

relating, directly or indirectly, to the University, including some whose primary reference is to the town or county of Cambridge. The formation of this collection had been one of Mr. Clark's hobbies during just half a century, and was materially aided by purchases from the gatherings of the Rev. Stephen Parkinson and Henry Bradshaw, and from the remarkable Catalogue of Cambridge Books issued in 1894 by Mr. Bowes, and by a bequest of the University pamphlets and Bentleiana collected by Dr. Luard, Mr. Clark's predecessor as Registrar. A manuscript catalogue was compiled by Mr. Clark, with the help of Mr. Alfred Rogers, of the University Library, and the present catalogue is based on this. 'In form it is a dictionary catalogue, with authors and subjects in one alphabetical arrangement. The titles have been kept short; and the main purpose has been to give an idea of the historical value of the collection rather than bibliographical descriptions of the books which compose it. To this end the subject-headings have been made as complete as possible.' The subject cross-references seem hardly as complete as might be expected from this last sentence. Thus, in the excellent list of the writings of Mr. Clark himself, there are entries of two concerned with Dr. Whewell, of an article entitled '*Temporis Mutantur*' concerned with the reception of Queen Elizabeth in 1564, and of three notes read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1879 dealing with King's College and the Church of S. John Zachary. Yet we can find no references to these under the name of Whewell,

or Elizabeth, King's College, or the church. Again under 'Library,' are entered three issues of a 'Statement and list of supporters' in connection with the 'election of F. J. H. Jenkinson, M.A., Trin. Coll., as Librarian,' but there is no reference to this under 'Jenkinson.' In other cases the expected references have duly been found, and there may be an explanation as regards those here mentioned which we have overlooked. As to the 'historical value' of the collection, a full idea of this could only be obtained with the aid of some kind of chronological index, but it is undoubtedly very great, and the University Library is much to be congratulated on this acquisition.

Catalogue of the Periodical Publications in the Library of the Royal Society of London. (Compiled by Mr. Luxmoore Newcombe, Sub-librarian of University College, London, and Mr. L. Elston, M.A.) London, Printed for the Royal Society at the Oxford University Press and sold by Henry Frowde, Amen Corner, E.C. 1912. pp. viii, 455.

Catalogue of the Periodical Publications including the serial publications of Societies and Governments in the Library of University College, London. By L. Newcombe. Oxford, Printed for University College, London, by Horace Hart. pp. vii, 269.

The second of these two Catalogues possesses a very useful Subject Index, which, though professedly not quite complete and 'merely intended

as a rough guide to the chief periodicals in the various departments of the Library,' adds greatly to its value. With this exception they are compiled on the same general plan and distinguished by the same excellent typographical arrangement. Every periodical is entered under the first word in the title (other than an article), and the entries are arranged strictly in alphabetical order, a number being prefixed to each, which greatly abridges cross-references. In the Royal Society Catalogue these are given from Editors as well as from variant forms of title, etc., University College saving space for its Subject Index by omitting these. In both Catalogues there is a full Index of Societies. In view of the enormous numbers of periodicals and of learned Societies printing 'Transactions,' it is impossible for any institution to take them all, and the value of these carefully compiled lists, showing what may be found in two collections of the first rank, is very great.

A. W. P.

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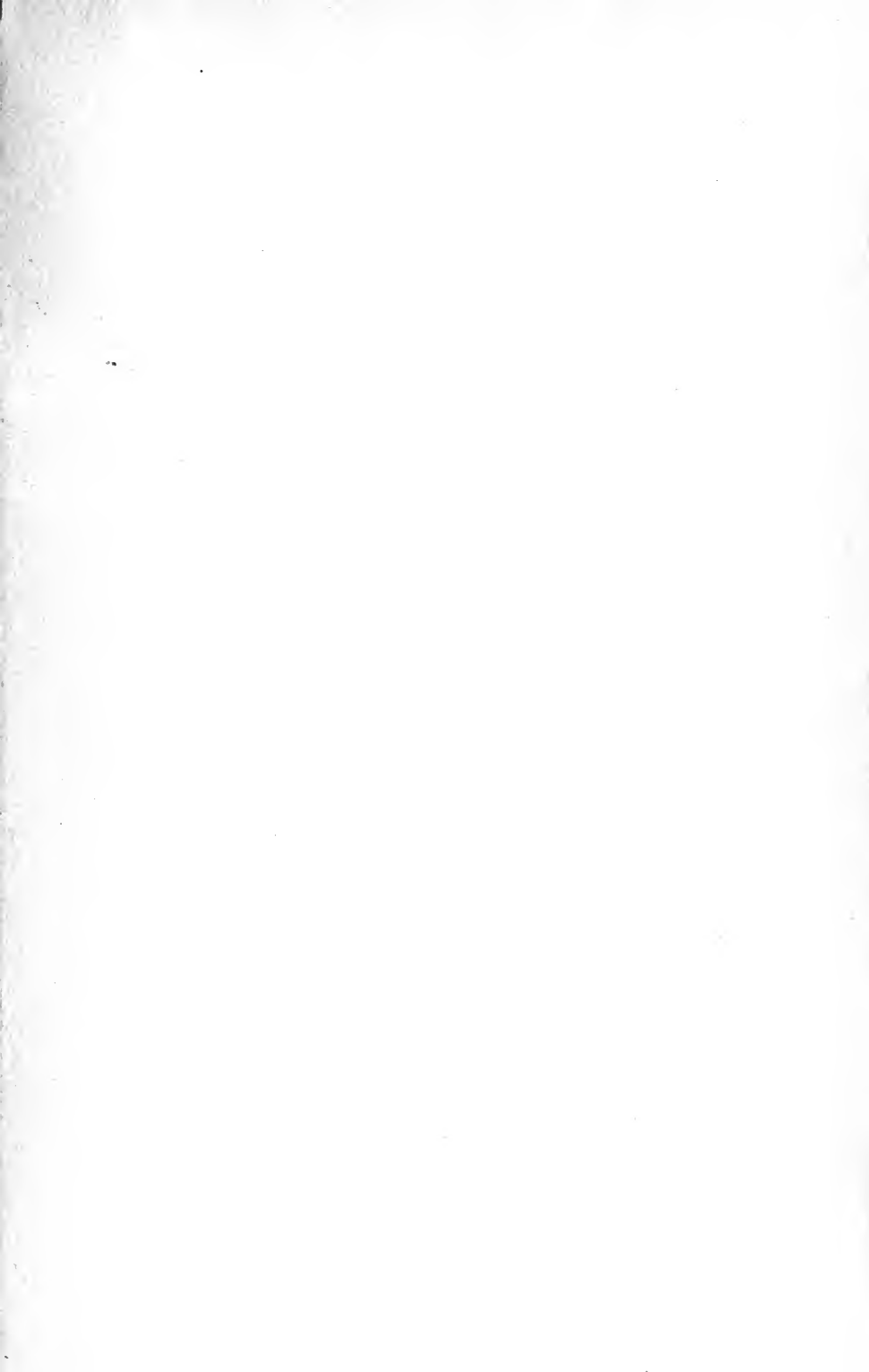
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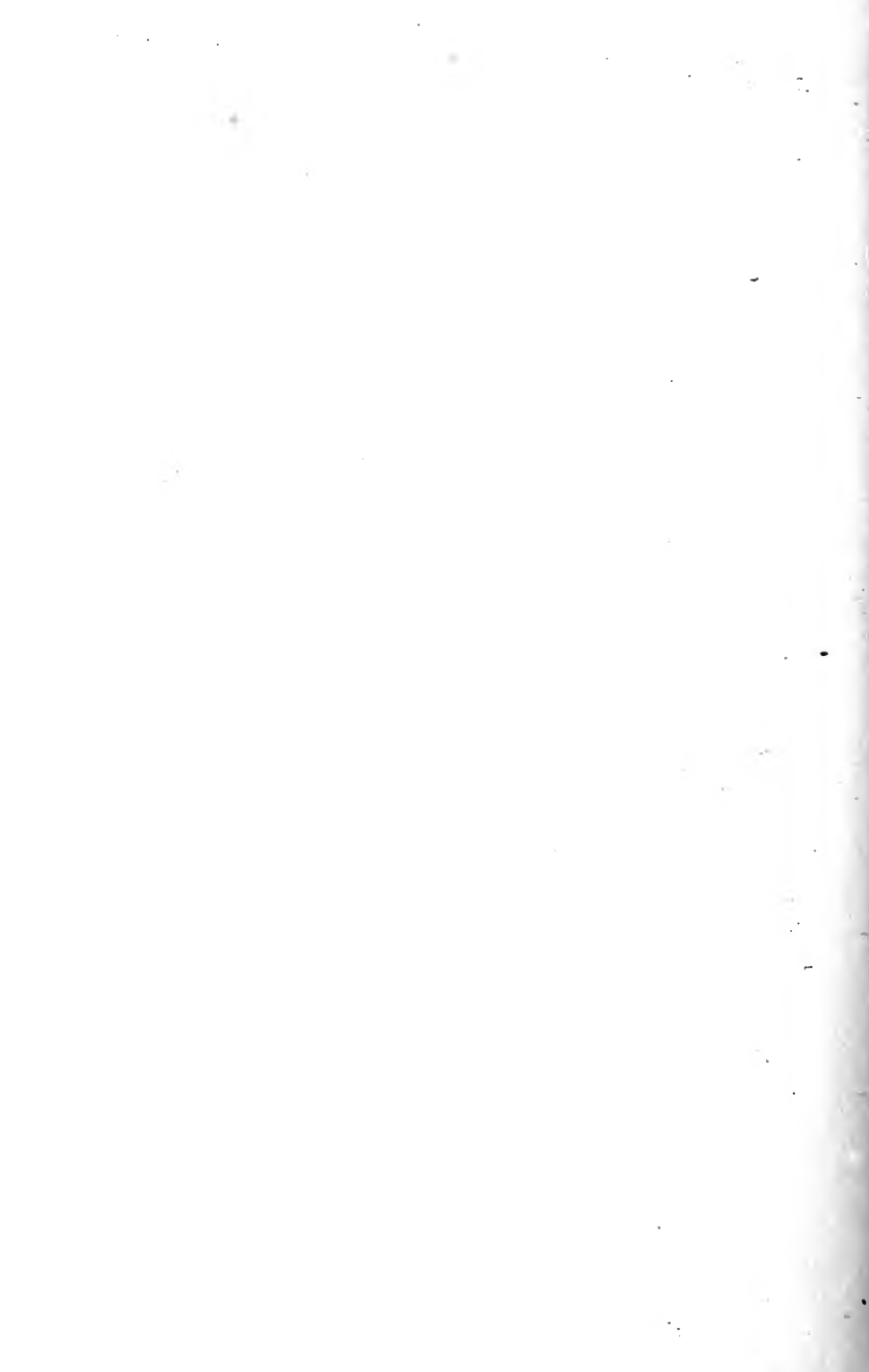
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